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THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

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ARTICLE I.

LUTHER AND THE REFORMERS BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

BY PROFESSOR J. A. SINGMASTER, D.D.

True religion has never been utterly unknown among men. In every age there has been at least a "remnant" who called upon the Lord. There have always been men like Enoch who walked with God. In the darkest days of Judaism there were inner circles of earnest, devout men and women who waited for the consolation of Israel and in the times of the persecutions of early Christians the incense of true worship rose from caves and catacombs.

During the Middle Ages when ignorance, scholasticism, worldliness and formalism had well nigh strangled the Church, here and there the fires of devotion glimmered amid the general darkness, but never burst into an illuminating flame until it pleased God to raise up Martin Luther to restore primitive Christianity.

The noble army of martyrs who died in defense of their faith certainly did not live and die in vain; and it would be unfair to their memory and disloyal to the truth to minimize their heroic devotion to conviction. It is not necessary to take from their brows laurels with which to crown Luther. Each has a glory peculiar to himself and each deserves to be held in grateful recognition for what

he strove to do. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that Luther succeeded where his precursors failed. The passing centuries emphasize his supremacy not only over his precursors but over his contemporaries and successors. Even Zwingli and Calvin, who wrought so nobly to deliver the Church from error, were largely indebted to Luther for inspiration and suggestion.

Great claims have been made for "The Reformers before the Reformation" as the pioneers who made the Reformation possible and to whom Luther was deeply indebted. In his admirable work entitled *Reformers Before the Reformation*, published about seventy-five years ago, Dr. C. Ullman of Heidelberg, takes the position that the Reformation was "a great historical result, the issue of a spiritual process extending through centuries." "We must suppose it," says he, "to have had very great antecedents. Like a giant oak such a phenomenon in the history of the world could not have been produced without deep and wide-spread roots, and a firm ground from which to grow. It betrays a lack of historical insight to attempt to explain it merely by the qualities of the actors or the transitory interests of the age."

"Is it possible," asks Ullman, "that Luther and his associates, or the men whom we see taking the field on the Rhine, downwards to the Netherlands, should have dropped as Reformers from heaven, or received their impulse or insight from a foreign land? No certainly. Even the law of historical continuity would require us to suppose corresponding intermediate links, laborers who prepared this particular soil."

Ullman's question, however, is misleading, and implies that no reformation is possible unless it have its precursors! This is absurd, for the question at once arises where did the precursors receive the impulse to reformation?

It is true, as Ullman says, that Luther acknowledges his indebtedness to others who went before him, but as far as I can find Luther nowhere declares that he received the impulse of the Reformation from any man. "Of John of Wesel, he says, that he had studied his writings

for his degree; of the Brethern of the Common Lot, that they were the first to receive the gospel; of Wessel, that it might seem as if he had derived from him all he knew; of Tauler that neither in the Latin or German tongue, does there exist a more sound or evangelical theology than his; of the author of the *Deutsche Theologie* that no one had instructed him better what God and Christ and all things are; and finally of Staupitz that by his means the light of the gospel had first dawned on his heart." (Ullman 1:13.)

Of all these, Wesel and Staupitz alone could have influenced Luther. But of the former as well as of Occam, Peter D' Ailly, John Gerson and Gabriel Biel, whose works were studied in the University at Erfurt, it may be said that they did not lead him into the light, for his deep soul-struggles took place after he had gone into the cloister. In his bitter struggles there, the memory of none of these great men and their teachings came to his assistance. Staupitz alone may be credited with real help to Luther in finding personal peace and in directing him to Paul. Staupitz, however, was not a reformer, but remained true to the Roman Church to the end of life.

We do not accept Ullman's philosophy nor his citation of facts as adequate grounds for his contention that Luther must have been greatly indebted to the men whom he has named or to any others. On the contrary we believe that the facts very clearly show that Luther's indebtedness to other reformers was exceedingly small. The theory that the Reformation can be accounted for only as the result of a spiritual movement in history reaching its culmination in Luther does not seem to be sustained by the facts, for no such progressive evolution is observable. The explanation is, to some extent at least, purely naturalistic or rationalistic without, of course, meaning to be so. It ignores too much the supernatural in history, especially as it manifests itself in subjective true religion and in the endowment of overshadowing Personalities.

Religion is a divinely wrought experience and attitude of the soul—the work of the Holy Spirit through the

word of God. This experience is possible without any logical historical sequences. Luther and the Reformation are the product of the Supernatural Spirit, who works when and where He pleases. The Reformation was really "a sudden conversion" rather than a product of historical development. It was a fresh and spontaneous outburst of protest and creative activity from the heart of Luther, uninfluenced to any preceptible degree by the past. It came from the realization of a deep personal need rather than from any pressure for reform from without. The glorification of Luther is not for one moment the purpose of the writer. It is rather to emphasize the truth that God uses the Scriptures as the means by which to make men Christians and if need be Reformers.

The Reformation, however great an event, is much more than an event; it is a parable, a prophecy, a promise, a revelation. Luther was after all only an instrument in God's hand for the awakening of the world to a proper conception of personal religion. He brought out the truth that the Bible is always God's message to man, that it is accompanied by the power of the Holy Spirit, who awakens faith in the one that sincerely reads or hears the Word. Luther was in a very real sense the discoverer of the Bible, not simply as its translator but much more as its interpreter.

The facts of the Reformation, therefore, plainly contradict the theory that it was the culmination of a historic development through reformers before the Reformation. It was in fact a new movement which was started in the heart of Luther by the Holy Spirit who had enlightened him through the Sacred Scriptures. It was the result of divine truth working through a richly endowed Personality. In substantiation of the position that Luther was very slightly indebted to the so-called "reformers before the Reformation," it will be necessary to examine the history and teaching of the more prominent of them.

In the celebrated Luther Memorial at Worms (unveiled

in 1868) where his colossal statue rises high above those of Waldo and Wyclif, Huss and Savonarola, we have an artistic recognition of Luther's relation to his precursors. They were engaged in like tasks, but he succeeded while they failed. Waldo, who died in 1218, represents the reformatory work in France. Wycliffe, who died in 1384, stands for reform in England. John Huss, who was put to death in 1415, represents Bohemia; and Savonarola, who was slain in 1498, Italy.

Peter Waldo, after whom the Waldenses are named, was a wealthy merchant of Lyons. About the year 1190 he came under the influence of a minstrel who sang the praises of pious pilgrims. Deeply impressed by his sinfulness, Waldo sought peace by renouncing his wealth and his family and taking a formal vow of poverty. Soon others of like mind joined him and formed the society of the "Poor Men." Their devotion favorably impressed the Pope who gave them some recognition but forbade them to preach. The Waldenses soon spread throughout Europe, but were divided into various sects of which the Lombards were the most influential. In their migrations the Waldenses came into touch with the Hussites, and in times of persecution found a refuge in Bohemia and Moravia. The modern Waldenses are found principally in Italy with affiliated churches in North and South America, and are evangelical in their faith.

The doctrines of the original Waldenses did not differ essentially from those of the Roman Church, except that they exalted the Bible and recognized the priesthood of the laity. Their protest against the papacy was directed chiefly against "abuses." Of the doctrine of justification by faith they knew nothing. They were forerunners of Luther as opposed to the papacy, but were not his teachers.

The illustrious John Wyclif, often called the Morning Star of the Reformation, was born in Yorkshire, England, between 1320 and 1330, and died Dec. 31, 1384, a century before the birth of Luther. The effort to trace his reformatory impulse to the influence of the Walden-

ses has not been successful. He seems to have come to the light through the study of the Scriptures, much as Luther did. He saw the errors of the papacy and was in cordial sympathy with the "Good Parliament" of 1376-77 in its efforts to abridge the temporal power of the Pope. His principal work was his participation in the translation of the Bible and his writings against the papacy. By the latter he deeply impressed Huss and had the distinguished post mortem honor of being condemned with Huss at the Council of Constance, where his books were ordered to be burned and his body exhumed and committed to the flames. This was carried out twelve years later and his ashes cast into the River Swift.

Wyclif's teachings seem to have been strictly independent. He distinctly repudiated the charge that he imbibed his views from Occam. Like most of the earlier reformers he denounced the errors and pretensions of the papacy, but failed to apprehend the great central truth of justification as Luther did. Melancthon, in a letter to Myconius, declared that Wyclif was wholly ignorant of the doctrine of justification by faith, and that he had foolishly mixed up the Gospel and politics. Luther knew Wyclif only at second hand. Dr. D. S. Schaff (*History of Christian Church*, v. Part ii, 346, 347) says, "Had Luther had access to the splendid shelf of volumes issued by the Wyclif Society, he might have said of the English Reformer what he said of Wessel's works when they were placed in his hands. The reason why no organized reformation followed Wyclif's labors is best given when we say, the time was not yet ripe. And after all the parallelisms are stated between his opinions and the doctrines of the Reformers, it will remain true, that evangelical as he was in speech and patriotic as he was in spirit, the Englishman never ceased to be a schoolman. Luther was fully a man of the new age."

John Huss, the famous reformer, was born in Bohemia in 1369 and was burned at the stake at Constance by order of the Council of that name, June 6, 1415. He imbibed his reformatory ideas from the writings of Wyclif

which had been brought from England by Jerome of Prague in 1401 or 1402. The connection between Bohemia and England is explained by the marriage of King Wenceslaus' sister, Anne, with Richard II of England in 1382. The teachings of Huss are an exact reproduction of those of Wyclif, some of whose writings he translated and published as his own. His murder was in violation of the safe-conduct given by the Emperor Sigismund. His ashes were thrown into the Rhine as those of his illustrious predecessor were cast into the Swift.

There is no evidence that Luther was influenced in the beginning of his career by a knowledge of Huss. His first acquaintance with Huss came through the perusal of some of his sermons found in the cloister library at Erfurt. "Curious to see what the arch-heretic had taught, and feeling justified in the investigation since his book had been preserved unburned, he found so much that he was filled with amazement, and wondered why such a man, able to handle the Scriptures in such a Christian spirit and so powerfully, should have been burned. But as the name of Huss rested under such fearful condemnation that he thought the walls would become black and the sun darkened if it were ever mentioned, he closed the book and went away with a bleeding heart. He found some consolation in the thought, that Huss had perhaps written these things before he became a heretic. Luther afterwards declared that he was when a monk such a rabid papist, that he would have been ready to murder all who should by even the smallest syllable refuse obedience to the Pope, or at least would have found pleasure in their murder and would have helped to accomplish it." "The Theology of Luther," Koestlin (Hay) I:51.

At the Leipzig Disputation in the summer of 1519 Luther boldly asserted that the Council of Constance had erred in condemning Huss. From this it was once thought that Luther must have had an extensive acquaintance with the writings of Huss; but it has been shown that only in October of that year did he receive a copy of his works from the Bohemian Brethren themselves, who

sent representatives to assure him of their sympathy with him in his struggles against the papacy. Luther declared later that he believed he should yet discover that he himself, and even Staupitz, had without knowing it been teaching Hussite doctrine, and that even Paul and Augustine were literally Hussites!

Turning from Waldo, the Frenchman, and Wyclif, the Englishman, and Huss, the Bohemian, we come to Savonarola, the Italian, who became a martyr to his faith in 1498, when Luther was a lad of fifteen. When Catholics, who heard that the Rietschel, the sculptor and designer of the Worms Memorial proposed to give Savonarola a place, wrote to show the impropriety of including him, the sculptor wrote to Hase for his opinion. The venerable church historian replied, "It makes no difference whether they counted Savonarola a heretic or a saint, he was in either case a precursor of the Reformation and so Luther recognized him." Speaking of Savonarola's Exposition of the Psalms, Luther said that, although "some clay stuck to Savonarola's theology, it is a pure and beautiful example of what is to be believed, trusted and hoped from God's mercy and how we come to despair of works. Christ canonizes Savonarola through us even though popes and papists burst to pieces over it."

Savonarola was a precursor of the Reformation in denying that the grace of God can be obtained on the ground of merit, but he was by no means an advocate of the doctrine of justification by faith, the distinguishing tenet of the Reformation. He was condemned for rebelling against the authority of Pope Pius II. He was a preacher of great power, and a patriot of deep devotion. But he failed in his effort as a statesman, as did Zwingli and Calvin later. His death was tragic. He was hanged and his body burned and the ashes cast into the Arno.

Turning now from the reformers represented in the Worms Memorial let us briefly examine the teachings of some of the lesser reformers, for whom Ullman makes such large claims (Vol. I:133f.)

John Pupper (1400-1475), usually called John of Goch

from his birthplace, lived and died in the bosom of the Church, and received honorable interment in the chapel of the priory of which he had so long been superior. With the exception of a literary attack on the part of the Dominicans with whom he had found fault, there is no evidence that he gave any offense, excited the suspicion of the hierarchy, or endured the slightest persecution. "Beyond his own immediate and quiet circle," says Ullman, "Goch's influence seems at first not to have extended. At least there are none of the more celebrated Reformers on whom it can be shown to have operated in the way of exciting, instructing, or determining the bent of their minds. In particular, we can find no trace of Luther's having been acquainted with his writings and labors."

In spite of this statement Ullman nevertheless claims that Goch prepared the ground for the seed that Luther later sowed. He asserts that Goch starts "not merely with the formal principle of the Reformation, by founding all Christian doctrine upon Scripture, but also with its material principle, which is the justification of the sinner in the sight of God, effected not by works but solely by a living faith in Christ." Over against this claim, Otto Clemen,¹ a late biographer of Goch says, "In the central point of reformatory dogmatics, in the doctrine of justification, he still stood on the ground of the Middle Ages." It must be apparent that Luther was in no sense influenced by Goch, however praiseworthy his teachings may have been.

John of Wesel, who died in 1481, two years before Luther's birth, graduated at the University of Erfurt in 1445, and shortly after was elected professor. Toward the end of 1460 he was canon at Worms; in 1461 he was professor at Heidelberg; and in 1463 preacher at the cathedral in Worms. Professor Otto Clemen says, that "Johann von Lutter, many years a colleague of Wesel at Erfurt, reports that Wesel often said from his chair that he would maintain nothing which was dissonant from

1 Schaff-Herzog in loco.

the teaching of the Roman Church or the doctrines of its approved doctors." However, later "his sermons [at Worms] caused offense, now by pedantic and confused speculation, now by bold attacks upon the Church, its sacraments, teachings and tendencies." The substance of his offense against the Church is summed up in a sentence at the close of his *Paradoxa*: "I despise pope, Church, and councils; I love Christ. Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly."

Such utterances and his relations with a Bohemian adventurer finally aroused the opposition of the archbishop who put him on trial. He was then a man of eighty. He was found guilty, and though he publicly recanted he was nevertheless condemned to spend his last years as a penitent in the Augustinian monastery at Mainz.

When Luther was a student at Erfurt, about fifty years after Wesel had taught there, he found Wesel's books still in use. He once said, "I remember how Master John Wesalia ruled the university by his writings, through the study of which I also became a master." Evidently these writings contained nothing offensive to the authorities, otherwise they would have been excluded. Luther's dependence upon Wesel for reformatory impulses amounted to practically nothing. In his struggles in the cloister he never seems to have thought of him. After the Reformation was fairly under way he alludes kindly to Wesel, but only in an incidental way.

Of the character of Johann Wessel (1419-1489) Luther had a very high opinion; and in the preface to a small volume of Wessel's Essays, which Luther published in 1522, he says, "If I had read Wessel earlier my enemies might have said that Luther drew everything from Wessel; so well do our two minds agree."

This sentence explains the relation of Luther to Wessel. He discovered the latter after the Reformation had begun and found comfort in his protests against the Pope and indulgences. A correct estimate of Wessel concludes a review of him by Professor S. D. van Veen

(Schaff-Herzog): "While Wessel has been perhaps too enthusiastically praised by Ullman, it is equally a mistake to consider him an orthodox churchman. That he foreshadowed the German Reformation is evinced by his teachings. Yet in many respects Wessel's face was turned backward toward Augustine and Bernard."

Loofs (*Dogmengeschichte* p. 658) declares: "Goch, Wesel and Wessel were not Reformers before the Reformation. Nevertheless they are witnesses that at the close of the Middle Ages the preparation for the Reformation was not merely negative."

Finally mention should be made of John Tauler (1300-1361) whom Luther mentions as "a man of God" and whose sermons he commends. Luther was drawn to him by his deep earnestness and the practical adaptation of his teaching to everyday life. The warmth of his addresses, coming from a deeply mystical nature, appealed to Luther as being in harmony with his own experience. But Luther really derived nothing of a doctrinal nature from Tauler, for the latter was in matters of doctrine a true son of the Church. He broke with the Pope on the question of Excommunication, holding that the Church had no right to exclude the poor and ignorant and let them die without the consolations of religion. For expressing such ideas Tauler was himself excommunicated. It was his opposition to the papacy that must have pleased Luther. Recent study of Tauler shows that he was infected with the errors of mysticism which Luther thoroughly abhorred. "It would be difficult to acquit Tauler of pantheism." "At bottom he was in accord with the libertine trend. Likewise in his attitude to the revealed Word, he is no more entitled to the name of forerunner of the Reformation. In particular instances he insisted upon the fundamental importance of the Scriptures, but at the same time he placed the inner Word or Christ enthroned within the obedient man, as of higher authority. As to the Church, he is so prepossessed by his estimation of the personal relation to God that he loses all appreciation for the ordinances in spite of inci-

dental recognition of them. To him the Friends of God, who are in immediate contact with God take the place of the Church. The visible Church has only a preliminary pedagogical worth, to be forsaken as soon as the inner Word is perceived." (Ferdinand Cohrs in Schaff-Herzog).

The very brief outline of the lives and teachings of these so-called reformers seems to show that they failed in their grasp of fundamental problems and really had very little to offer to Luther, even if he had known their teachings thoroughly.

Luther's generous estimate of all who opposed the errors of Rome in one way or another is not to be construed into an acknowledgment of personal indebtedness to any of them for reformatory impulses or an approval of everything which they may have taught. He was grateful to find here and there one who questioned the assumptions of the papacy.

Luther was called to be a Reformer somewhat as Paul was called to be an Apostle, the former *mediately* through the Word, the latter *immediately* by the Lord Himself. In all the centuries between Paul and Luther no public teacher had adequately interpreted Paul. The emphasis which Luther placed on the doctrines of sin and the Person and Work of Christ is altogether Pauline.

The question why Luther succeeded while the reformers before the Reformation failed is not answered as Schaff says in reference to Wyclif, "The time was not ripe." It cannot be denied that some ages have not appreciated their leaders and their opportunities; and that the public mind must generally be prepared for great changes by long agitation; witness the struggle for the abolition of slavery, and the prohibition of the sale of intoxicants. But even these reforms are brought about largely by highly endowed minds set on fire by great convictions.

Politically the times were propitious for Luther. His nation was tired of Roman dictation, and the affairs of the Empire compelled concessions to the Germans. However, similar conditions had long prevailed in the history

of Germany, but there was then no prophet and no vision, no mighty personality impelled by religious motives to incarnate revolt and reform. Luther was not only liberated in conscience himself, but he knew how to present truth, expose error, shape circumstances and repel attacks. He created by his incessant preaching and writing an atmosphere and environment in which liberty could exist and flourish.

Moreover, Luther's Reformation was much more than the removal of error and abuses. By the grace of God, he made the tree good. While the efforts of his predecessors were not altogether negative, they were too much so; and usually they failed to offer an adequate substitute for that which they endeavored to remove. Sometimes they tried to remove too much and were so radical in their break with the past that the continuity of the Church was broken.

The earlier reformers failed because they did not have a clear conception and a strong hold on the doctrine of Christ and His sufficiency and His accessibility. This Luther apprehended in his personal experience, presented in his doctrine of Justification by Faith, and emphasized with all his consecrated genius, not as a dogma, to be received because it was taught, but as the embodiment of the most essential and life-giving truth.

Luther succeeded also by keeping on the broad highway of truth, avoiding the many specious and alluring by-paths into which others strayed and never returned. He was in the true sense a mystic, but he was not of the mystics with their vagaries and denial of the external word and ordinances. He was a humanist in his use and appreciation of the classics and of historical criticism, but humanism was to him more than a mere academic performance. He gave it a religious trend and made it subservient to the Scriptures. He was a social reformer and could plead for the rights of the poor as no other man of his time, but he could not be misled into breaking up all order and introducing chaos and anarchy.

Luther had the true view of ordinary life as over

against the various monastic orders which endowed self-denial and celibacy with a false sanctity and which gave rise to the most atrocious scandal. He took the broad view that whatever was necessary and natural in human life was good and should be used according to the intent of the beneficent Creator.

Lindsay (in his *History of the Reformation* 191f.) has differentiated Luther from others in the following significant language:

"History knows nothing of revivals of moral living apart from some new religious impulse. The motive power needed has always come through leaders who have had communion with the unseen. Humanism had supplied a superfluity of teachers; the times needed a prophet. They received one; a man of the people; bone of their bone, and flesh of their flesh; one who had himself lived that popular religious life with all the thoroughness of a strong, earnest nature, who had sounded all its depths and tested all its capacities, and gained in the end no relief for his burdened conscience; who had at last found his way into the presence of God, and who knew by his own personal experience, that the living God was accessible to every Christian. He had won the freedom of a Christian man, and had reached through faith a joy in living far deeper than that which Humanism boasted. He became a leader of men, because his joyous faith made him a hero by delivering him from all fear of Church or of clergy—the fear which had weighed down the consciences of men for generations. Men could see what faith was when they looked at Luther."

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ARTICLE II.

WAS THERE NEED OF THE REFORMATION?

BY PROFESSOR JOHN ALFRED FAULKNER, D.D.

Four hundred years ago a quiet humble monk of the Roman Catholic Church—the only Church then in Western Europe, who was an inmate of the Augustinian Monastery in Wittenberg in Saxony and a teacher in the theological department of the University which the ruler of Saxony, Frederick the Wise, had established there eleven years before, nailed up on the door of the Castle Church in that city a long document in Latin containing 95 propositions or theses, which had to do with the sale of indulgences which was then going on in parts of Germany. A setting forth of theses did not mean necessarily that the author indorsed them (though in this case he did), it meant only that as scholastic exercise they were put out for discussion, and which the author was ready to defend against all comers, something similar to a side taken in a college debate. Though the theses were not published, only posted, they were soon known all over the land and created intense furor. They have been looked upon ever since as the beginning of the Reformation, and in 1617, 1717, and 1817 celebrations in their honor were held in Protestant lands. Scholars in Germany have discussed the question whether that date was really the most fitting as the beginning of the Reformation, and the general answer has been that it is, and that answer is wise. Historically and theologically the Reformation started from the 95 Theses.

What was the Reformation? It was exactly what it says: a reformation, that is, a cleaning, an improvement, an amendment of something already existing. College professors have the fashion now of calling it the Protestant Revolution, and like other fashions this has spread widely; but the old wisdom of the ages is wiser than the

new smartness, and if the college teacher knew as much about religion and theology as he does about the external results of history he would hesitate before discarding the old word for the new. Of course certain things were turned over and turned around and turned back and so etymologically there was a Revolution after 1517, and if we think of that word as expressing the radicalness of the change, it is true that there were fundamental alterations brought in over a part of Christendom. For instance, the papal power entirely disappeared over northern Germany, what are now the three Scandinavian countries, a part of Switzerland and of the Low Countries, and the British Islands. Certain important doctrines also went and the papal hierarchy. All this was such a deep cleft with past history that it might well be called a Revolution. Still the word Reformation is more historically just. All the Reformers were Roman Catholics and they had no intention of doing away any important element in the Church as they received it,—only of cutting away barnacles which had attached to it through the ages, a reforming or reshaping rather than an overturning. They brought in no new doctrines, but only those which had been believed of old. Though they had to restore a Church organization that was not papal, they followed old precedents or tried to go along lines with which everyone was familiar. Neither in polity nor doctrine was the Reformation revolutionary. In fact Luther was one of the most conservative men of his age, and it is a miracle of history that such a man as he brought about changes so profound.

Yes, there were changes that came from 1517, and it is the part of this paper to indicate those changes by telling two or three things that needed change. (There is not space to give here the doctrinal need.)

First, there was the financial or economic need. Ever since the publication of the first volume of Karl Marx's *Kapital* in 1867, one of the very greatest books in the history of literature, we have been familiar with the idea that the determining factor in history is not politics, is

not religion, but is economics alone. That idea has been taken up by the professional teachers of history especially in America, and is now taken for granted by the whole fraternity. A popular exposition of it can be found in Professor Seligman's *Economic Interpretation of History* N.Y. 1902, rev.ed. 1907. Now this economic factor certainly was working before and at the Reformation, and the college professor is apt to make it the chief factor in producing what he calls the Protestant Revolution. Some theological professors have—somewhat inconsiderately, in my judgment—taken over this interpretation of the Reformation, and one of them, my learned friend, Professor Vedder of Crozer Theological Seminary, has written a history of the movement from that point of view (*The Reformation in Germany*, 1914). But to show how impossible it is to reduce a complex movement like the Reformation, where religion was at least a leading factor, to an economic denominator, after Professor Vedder gets through his introduction and launches into the deep waters of the history, we lose sight almost entirely of the economic features, and the real forces are reckoned with. Though this proves that we cannot judge the Reformation mainly from the Marxian rule, it does not follow that financial or economic considerations did not play a very important part. They did indeed.

In Luther's celebrated *Open Letter to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation* (1520) he speaks of some of these financial abuses. He says that cardinals were created in large numbers in Italy to bring under the influence of Rome the bishoprics and other rich foundations. These benefices were given to cardinals who were often non-resident, so that the bishoprics and monasteries were decayed and all Italy laid waste, the cardinals taking the revenues but doing no work. For instance, Cardinal Della Rovere afterwards Pope Julius II (1503-13) held at one and the same time the archbishopric of Avignon, the bishopric of Bologna, Lausanne, Coutancis, Vivers, Mende, Ostia, and Velletri, and the abbacies of Nonatola

and Grottaferrata. "No Turk could have so devastated Italy and suppressed the worship of God."

"Now that Italy is sucked dry (continues Luther), they come into Germany, and begin Oh, so gently. But let us beware, or Germany will soon become like Italy. Already we have some cardinals; what the Romans seek by that the "Drunken Germans" (an epithet applied to them by the Romans) are not to understand until we have not a bishopric, a monastery, a living, a benefice, a heller or a pfenning left. Antichrist must take the treasures of the earth, as it was prophesied. So it goes on. They skim the cream off the bishoprics, monasteries and benefices, and because they do not yet venture to turn them all to shameful use, as they have done in Italy, they only practice for the present the sacred trickery of coupling together ten or twenty prelacies and taking a yearly portion from each of them, so as to make a tidy sum. The priory of Würzburg yielded a thousand gulden; that of Bamberg something; Mainz, Trier and the others something more; and so from one to ten thousand gulden might be got together, in order that a cardinal might live in Rome like a rich king.¹ . . . If ninety-nine parts of the papal court were done away, it would be still large enough to give decisions in matters of faith. Now however there is such a swarm of vermin yonder in Rome all boasting that they are papal that there was nothing like it in Babylon. There are more than 3,000 papal secretaries alone. Who will count the other offices, when they are so many that they scarcely can be counted? and they all lie in wait for the prebends and benefices of Germany as wolves lie in wait for the sheep. I believe that Germany now gives more to the pope of Rome than it gave in former times to the emperors. Indeed some estimate that every year more than 300,000 gulden find their way from Germany to Rome, quite uselessly; we get nothing for it but scorn and contempt. And yet we wonder that princes, nobles, cities, endowments, land and people are impoverished.

1 Works, ii, 81-82 (Mt. Airy, Phila., transl. 1915).

In former times German emperors and princes permitted the pope to receive annates from all the benefices of the German nation, i. e., the half of the first years revenues from each benefice. This permission was given, however, in order that by means of these large sums of money the pope might accumulate a treasure for fighting against the Turks and infidels in defense of Christendom, so that the burden of the war might not rest too heavily on the nobility, but that the clergy also should contribute something toward it. This simple-hearted devotion of the German nation the popes have so used that they have received this money for more than a hundred years (began beginning of the 14th century), have now made it a binding tax and tribute, and have not only accumulated no treasure, but have used the money to endow many orders and offices at Rome, and to provide these offices with salaries, as though the annates were a fixed rent. . . . If one holds an appointment free from Rome and dies at Rome or on the way, his living forever belongs to Rome, and yet the Roman see will not be called robbers, though they are guilty of such robbery as no one has ever heard or read about. If any one belongs to the household of pope or cardinals, then his benefice falls to Rome. But who can count the household of the pope or cardinals? When the pope goes out on a pleasure ride he takes with him 3,000 or 4,000 muleriders, eclipsing emperors and kings. Christ and St. Peter went on foot that their vicars might have more splendor. Then when a contest is started at Rome over a living, the benefice contested belongs to Rome, and the right occupant must settle with money or lose. When not contested at home, unnumbered knaves will be found at Rome to dig up contests out of the earth and assail livings at their will. It would be no wonder if God were to rain from heaven fire and brimstone to sink Rome in the abyss, as he did Sodom and Gomorrah of old. Why should there be a pope in Christendom if his power is used for nothing else than such arch knavery, and if he protects and practices it? O noble princes and lords, how long will ye leave your lands

and people naked to these ravening wolves! The pope's pallium of an archbishop costs 20,000 gulden, though it was originally bestowed gratis. . . . When a prebend or bishopric is held by a sick or old man, without his desire or consent a coadjutor is assigned to him by the pope and that brings the see into the hands of the pope. . . . The pope entrusts the keeping of a rich fat monastery or Church to a cardinal, who can drive out the regular incumbent, take the revenues, and install a renegade monk for five or six gulden."²

I could give many other facts of the financial exploitation of the people, clergy and churches by the papal authorities, but these passages from Luther's own words must suffice. These things had been a matter of frequent complaint, and they caused bitter thoughts in all parts of the world, and made Europe feel that everybody and everything existed for one purpose only,—to fatten the pockets and the bellies of the prelates in Rome. At the Drew Summer School of 1917 the addresses of one of our own men³ on foreigners as a Church problem emphasized the fact that the Bohemians, Hungarians, Italians, etc., that he met within his work in Cleveland had that same feeling toward the Roman Church which comes out in the documents of the Reformation period, viz., resentment toward their exploitation by the Church, a resentment which is carried over against Christianity itself, and makes them distrust, if not hate, all Churches. Certainly a crying need for a Reformation was the financial or economic need.

Second, there was what I call the penitential need, though this too became involved in the everlasting cry for more money. In the third century those who lapsed seriously from Christ were compelled to some form of penance, and were either not readmitted into full Church membership until near death, or recommended to the mercy of God and not readmitted at all. Later discipline declined, and refusal of Communion was the only penance

² Ibid., pp. 83-92 (abridged).

³ The Rev. Elmer E. Pearce, pastor of Broadway Church, Cleveland.

exacted of gross offenders. In the early part of the Middle Ages with the incoming of thousands of rough barbarians into the Church, more stringent measures had to be taken, and the Church developed quite a penitential system. For instance if a monk got drunk so that he vomited, he had to do penance for thirty days; if a presbyter or deacon got drunk he had to do penance for forty days. If one committed fornication with a virgin he must be penitent one year, if with a married woman four years. As a final resort excommunication or anathema was resorted to, that is, cutting off the offender from the Church. And as everybody was a member of the Roman Church in Western Europe, as such membership was considered necessary to salvation, and as no help or social fellowship could be given to an excommunicate, the condition of a person thus cut off was fearful. He was what the Germans call *vogelfrei*, that is, free to be injured, attacked, robbed, killed. He was in a world where every person must look upon him as a mortal enemy, but where the precept of the apostle is reversed, If thine enemy hunger starve him, if he thirst give him no drink or poisoned drink, if he meet thee slay him. The eminent historian, the late Dr. Henry Charles Lea, of Philadelphia, has translated one of these excommunications, and it is so interesting I give it. Some one threatened to appropriate lands belonging to the monastery of St. Giles, Provence, France, and Pope Benedict VIII, about 1014, sent him to hell in vigorous language.

"Benedict, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Count William and his mother the Countess Adelaide, perpetual grace and apostolic benediction. Let them (who attempt to rob the monastery) be accursed in their bodies, and let their souls be delivered to destruction and perdition and torture. Let them be damned with the damned; let them be scourged with the ungrateful; let them perish with the proud. Let them be accursed with the Jews who, seeing the incarnate Christ, did not believe but sought to crucify him. Let them be accursed with the heretics who labored to destroy the Church. Let them be accursed with those who blaspheme the name of God.

Let them be accursed with those who despair the mercy of God. Let them be accursed with those who lie damned in hell. Let them be accursed with the impious and sinners unless they amend their ways, and confess themselves at fault toward St. Giles. Let them be accursed in the four quarters of the earth. In the east be accursed, in the west disinherited, in the north interdicted, in the south excommunicated. Be they accursed in the day, and excommunicate in the night. Accursed be they at home and excommunicate abroad; accursed in standing and excommunicate in sitting; accursed in eating, accursed in drinking, accursed in sleeping, and excommunicate in waking; accursed when they work and excommunicate when they rest. Let them be accursed in the spring and excommunicate in the summer; accursed in the autumn and excommunicate in the winter. Let them be accursed in this world and excommunicate in the next. Let their lands pass into the hands of the stranger, their wives be given over to perdition, and their children fall by the edge of the sword. Let what they eat be accursed, and accursed be what they leave, so that he who eats it shall be accursed. Accursed and excommunicate be the priest who shall give them the body and blood of the Lord, or who shall visit them in sickness. Accursed and excommunicate shall he be who shall carry them to the grave, and shall dare to bury them. Let them be excommunicate and accursed with all curses if they do not make amends and render due satisfaction. And know this for truth that after our death no bishop nor count, nor any secular power shall usurp the seigniorship of the blessed St. Giles. And if any presume to attempt it, borne down by all the foregoing curses, they never shall enter the kingdom of heaven, for the blessed St. Giles committed his monastery to the lordship of the blessed Peter."⁴

Sometimes this facility in cursing descended with ferocity and anatomical particularity to every part of the body, as in the well known curse of Ernulphus quoted in *Tristram Shandy*, where a dozen lines are taken up in a

⁴ Lea, "Excommunication," in "Studies in Church History," 2 ed. rev. and enl. 1883, 347-8.

list of the members and functions accursed. This excommunication was not intended for murderers and other horrible criminals, but for thieves and such like.⁵ I cannot forbear quoting the words of Lea. "Much may be forgiven to men whose profession forbade recourse to force in an age when force was the only law respected; and yet Charity herself might well stand aghast to see those who represented on earth the Gospel of Love unpack their hearts with curses so venomously that they seem enamoured of the opportunity to consign their fellow beings to ruin in this world and to perdition in the next. The clergy themselves by their worldly and too often flagitious lives had forfeited the respect of their flocks (Ratherius of Verona thus explains the habitual disregard of excommunication by the laity of the period,—*De Contemptu Can.* i), and when their censures thus lost effect, it was but natural that they should seek to impress upon sinners by copiousness of malediction the salutary fear which the sacredness of their character could no longer secure. . . . Hardened sinners might make light of these imprecations; but their effect on believers was necessarily unutterable. When amid the gorgeous and impressive ceremonial of worship, the bishop, surrounded by twelve priests bearing flaming candles, solemnly recited the awful words which consigned the evil doer and all his generation to eternal torment with such fearful amplitude and reduplication of malediction; and, as the sentence of perdition came to its climax, the attending priests simultaneously cast their candles to the ground and trod them out as a symbol of the quenching of human soul in the eternal night of hell. Still greater was the effect when the ingenious expedient was invented of so preparing the candles that they would spontaneously go out at the proper moment, as though extinguished by heaven itself. . . . Those whom spiritual terrors could not subdue were daunted by the fearful stories of the judgment overtaking the hardened sinner who dared to despise the dread anathema."⁶ There was certainly need

⁵ See this curse also transl. by Lea, *ib.*, 345-6. Tristram Shandy, Sterne, Vol. iii. Ch. 2.

⁶ Lea, *Ibid.* 345, 348-9.

of something that would abolish that abuse in the penitential system of the Roman Church, the nightmare of excommunication.

You have noticed how this nightmare fell upon the innocent as well as the guilty. This was especially true of another form of mediaeval penance or punishment, viz., the interdict. This was the cessation of all spiritual privileges to a city or land in order to punish some evil-living or recalcitrant son of the Church. Public worship ceased, no one was married, the dead left unburied, and almost every means of salvation so dear to Catholics was withdrawn. We can hardly imagine a state of things like that, and yet that was the weapon of Holy Mother Church in that century which Professor James J. Walsh, M.D., of Fordham University, New York, calls the Greatest of Centuries, the Thirteenth, 3 ed., 1910, and for centuries before and after. It would be like the action say of all the Protestant pastors of a town, who, to punish the layman who ran off with a woman not his wife, or confiscated some church money, closed all the churches, refused to officiate at marriages or funerals, and shut down every public manifestation of religion. Of course that is a poor comparison, because religion and especially the Church stand now far lower as a means of salvation than then when Church and religion filled almost the whole horizon of life. For all devout and earnest souls what torture of spirit, what ecclesiastical terrorism!

But there were ways by which the Church could fix up those whose sins had offended her but slightly, and upon whom she had imposed penance. If the penances were too heavy and she was in special need of money, the former could be commuted into money payment. In the rules of Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury, whereas a murderer had to pay from eight to ten years of penance, this time could be shortened by money. Gradually there came to be a regular scale of charge for fixing up each sin and crime by the papal penitentiaries, for the pope found it profitable to set up a regular office or bureau for assessing sins, or rather for assessing the amount of money

to be received for commuting penances imposed for the sins. There has been a controversy whether these charges were the prices of the sins or of the pardons, or whether they were simply the fees for the office work attached to the penitential department of the Church in Rome. If the latter, they would easily pass into the former in popular thought, for the whole penitential system of the Roman Church during the Middle Ages was covered or ever threatened by a fog of venality.

When the Church had imposed penances, that is, usually pilgrimages to holy shrines, prayers, scourgings, good deeds, she allowed these to be changed into money payments for the building of churches, for going on a crusade or holy war, which was the main start of the institution of indulgences, or for other benevolent objects. Such a change was an indulgence. One of the most eminent authorities, Gottlob, thinks that properly an indulgence was not simply such a change or commutation as a transaction between priest and penitent, but was a regular Remission Institute by which high authorities like bishop, cardinal or pope grip in in the course of penance by a proclamation for political or general Church objects. Those for church building or furnishing go back to an indulgence of Pope Sergius IV in November 1011. In the first period, says Gottlob, one could elect *either* reconciliation in the sacrament of penance *or* an indulgence, that is, doing some hard work for the Church, like going on a crusade or a big contribution. Later the indulgence was dovetailed into the penitential scheme, so that it now ran, Reconciliation *and* indulgence. But the indulgence had an easy way of both taking the place of the sacrament of penance (confession to priest and absolution) and doing away with the ordinary penances he imposed, so that the Church was in danger of losing disciplinary grip on her children. The great pope Innocent III therefore made a rule at the Lateran Council of 1215 that every person should confess at least once a year to the priest, a rule that has remained in force till this very day. But that did not hinder the inevitable tendency of the money commutation of penance, that is,

of the indulgence, to amount to an enlargement, that is, a making easier, the old penitential discipline.⁷ This commutation of penance was theologically founded by Alexander of Hales about 1230 in a theory so obvious and easy that it is a wonder he was the first Catholic theologian to invent it, viz., the theory that there was a treasury of merits laid up in heaven by saints and martyrs, whose holy lives and heroic deaths did much more than atone for their own sins, not to speak of the superabundant merits of the Virgin Mary and of Christ, and that this vast treasury of merits could be drawn upon by the pope or by those whom he commissioned to go to the credit of poor sinners here in making easier their penance by their purchase of an indulgence.

The question is frequently asked, Did the indulgence cover future sins, either their forgiveness or the remission of their penalty? Yes and no. Everybody knows that according to Roman Catholic theology an indulgence is simply a remission of the penalty or a part of it imposed in the sacrament of penance, but the actual history is much more complicated. Some forms of indulgence went farther and included remission of guilt. Luther's brother Augustinian Johann von Paltz, an indulgence preacher, says of the Jubilee indulgence (about 1502): "By virtue of an indulgence no one, speaking properly, is absolved from punishment and guilt, but only from punishment; for by the sacrament of penance only is there absolution from guilt." He immediately adds: "Nevertheless it is commonly said that in the Jubilee indulgence one is absolved from punishment and guilt." Then he explains: "It is true that a Jubilee is more than a bare indulgence, because it includes the authority of confessing and absolving, and of remitting punishment with this indulgence, and this includes the sacrament of penance and with this an indulgence properly so called... And thus (in a Jubilee indulgence) the guilt is remitted by reason of the sacrament of penance, which is there brought in, and the punishment by reason of the indulgence which is

⁷ See Gottlob, "Ablassentwicklung u Ablassinhalt im 11 ten Jahrhundert, 1907.

there made use of." It happened therefore that when a big indulgence campaign was on special confessores poenitentiarum were at hand to hear confessions and absolve the buyers of the indulgence, and when thus furnished the buyer had three blessings, freedom from guilt, from penitential satisfaction, and from purgatory.

But the buyer when he was handed the indulgence certificate automatically got these blessings, especially the right to demand then and there absolution from his sins, and if no confessor was near the right to demand it later, which meant absolution for any sin he might commit in the meantime. The Mainz Instruction on indulgence thus describes the virtues of the wares: "The first grace (in this indulgence) is plenary remission of all sin, of which no grace can be greater, by which man a sinner deprived of divine grace comes to it again through that perfect remission and grace of God (in the indulgence), through which remission of sins the punishments in purgatory are fully paid off and remitted." Here the indulgence grace itself is described as a plenary remission of all sins, not simply the old idea of remission of punishment. In conformity with this, bulls in the later Middle Ages described the Jubilee indulgences as the "year of plenary remission and of grace, and reconciliation of the human race to our most pious Redeemer."

Brieger, who studied indulgences so thoroughly, from whom we have two monographs on them, and who, I hope, was able, before he passed away the other day, to finish his larger book on them which he had in preparation, is abundantly justified in saying: "If indulgence as remission of satisfaction was already from the standpoint of mediaeval Christianity an irony on penitential earnestness, a premium on comfortable, lazy, sleepy Christians, for the 'poor beggars of the Church' a means of blessedness upon which the 'perfect', the 'saints', could look down only with a certain despalis (compare the proud word of the monk, 'it is for the religious [monk] not to beg indulgences, but to heap them up'),—in this its last mediaeval stadium of development (when it became an indulgence 'from guilt and punishment') it un-

covers itself in its entirely vicious corruption: the holiest, the grace of God, was here inwoven into a 'holy trade' whose chief impulse was money."⁸

It is thus we understand what drove Luther to his protest namely, that, as he says, "unhappy souls believe, if they buy letters of indulgence, they are certain of their salvation, and also by these indulgences a man is free from all punishment and guilt."⁹ And for this reason also in the 95 Theses (see Nos. 5, 20, 34) Luther would know nothing of this later form of indulgence, which he detested so thoroughly, but only of the earlier (to him then more innocent, to us sufficiently frivolous) form of simply a remission of the penalties imposed in the sacrament of penance. In the later form, while it did not distinctly absolve from future sins, it practically amounted to it.

It is no wonder that this bookkeeping scheme of salvation caused searchings of heart among stricter Catholics. Wiclif thought indulgences were blasphemy. "Prelates chatter on the subject of grace as if it were a thing to be bought and sold like an ox; they learn to make merchandise of selling pardons, the devil having availed himself of an error of the schools to introduce heresies in morals. . . Indulgence of the pope are a blasphemy, inasmuch as he claims the power to save almost without limit, and not only to mitigate the penalties of those who have sinned by granting them the aid of absolutions and indulgences, that they should never come to purgatory, but to give command to the angels to carry the soul when separated from the body to everlasting rest."¹⁰ He says that remission of guilt and punishment by an indulgence is a lie and an "abomination of desolation in holy places"; that the Mendicant Friars who further this work in their preaching are enemies of the Church; that they and all cardinals and Englishmen at the papal court which plunder the

8 See *Indulgenzen* in *Realencyk.* 3 Aufl. ix, 90, to whom I am indebted both for facts and above quotations in Latin.

9 To Archbishop of Mainz, Oct. 31, 1517, in Enders, "Luther's Briefw." I. 115.

10 Quoted by Buddensieg, "Wiclif Patriot and Reformer, 1884, 125-6.

land thus must restore these illgotten goods if they ever find salvation; and that indulgences have queered the whole western Church.¹¹

Nor did they strike Erasmus, the liberal Catholic, much better, though he protested he did not condemn indulgences in themselves. He speaks of those who "venture the whole stress of their salvation on a skin of parchment (indulgence certificate, the so-called 'pardon') rather than upon amendment of life."¹²

"I'll go to the Dominicans, and then I can do my business with the commissaries (of pardons or indulgences) for a trifle.

"What, for sacrilege?

"Ay, if I had robbed Christ himself, and cut off His head afterwards they have pardons which would reach it, and commissions large enough to compound for it."¹³

"To Folly's school are those who think these sins and crimes "can be bought off in this cheap and easy way," so that they have now before them a "clean page of life to fill in with fresh depravities." "¹⁴

Though the Reformation did not clean out indulgences from the Roman Church, as they were reaffirmed and defended in the Council of Trent (1545-63), it made impossible some of the worst abuses, and lifted away a load of scandal. But the indulgence scheme is too much in harmony with the doctrinal structure of the Church, as well as too profitable, to be entirely abolished, though their sale was done away.

Third, there was the moral need. During the last half of the Middle Ages (say 1200-1500) there was no such reform in the morals of Church and clergy that a description in one part of that period would not be also substantially true of any other. Petrarch lived in the household of a leading prelate of the Church while the popes with

¹¹ See Lechler, "Johann von Wiclif u d Vogesch. d Reformation," 1873. i. 709.

¹² "Colloquies," Bailey (Johnson) i. 55.

¹³ *Ib.* i. 65 (1518, enl. 1526).

¹⁴ "Praise of Folly," Copner's tr. 150 (written 1509, pub. 1511).

their hundreds of ministerial assistants occupied Avignon (1309-77), and his description of the Reverend Fathers from the Vicar of Christ down is none too complimentary. He says:

"There truth is insanity, abstinence is rusticity, modesty a huge disgrace. Thence the extraordinary license of sinning, large-heartedness and liberty, by which the more polluted the life the more distinguished, the more wicked the more of glory, a good name more vile than dirt, and the latest news is of those for sale. I am silent about the artists in both pests, and the negotiators running together to the bedchambers of the popes. Who, I ask, is not mad and mocks at those old men with the white hair, very wide togas and yet verily with lascivious minds so that nothing seems falsier than what Maro (Vergil) says, The old man cold toward Venus. In fact so very eager are these white haired old men toward Venus, so much forgetfulness seizes them then as to age and status and strength, thus they burn in lust, they fall into every disgrace, as though all their glory was—not in the Cross of Christ but in feastings and drinkings to excess (*ebriatibus*), and who follow these things in indecencies; and they think this the one reward of old age, to do those things which the young do not dare. . . . I dismiss debaucheries, rapes, incests, adulteries which are the pastimes of pontifical lasciviousness.¹⁵ (Let me quote the Council of Constance's official descriptions of the Christian life of another pope fifty years after, viz., Pope John XXIII, (1415): That the Lord Pope John committed incest with his brother's wife and with holy monialibus, debauchery with virgins, adultery with married women and other crimes of lust, on account of which the wrath of God descends upon children maintained in mistrust. . . . Second, it is said that Lord Pope John was and is a sinful man notoriously criminal in homicide, poisoning and other grave crimes with which it is said deeply ensnared and published abroad, the dissipator of

¹⁵ Lib. sine Titulo Ep. 16, quoted in Latin, Lea, "Hist. Sacrodo-tal Celibacy." 2 ed. 343 n.

the goods of the Church and squanderer of the same, notoriously simoniacal, obstinately heretical, and notoriously scandalizing the Church of Christ. Third, it is said that Pope John XXIII has frequently and pertinaciously asserted, dogmatized and taught—the devil persuading—that there is no eternal life nor another after this,"¹⁶ etc.

Even granting that there was some exaggeration in this deliberate judgment of the Council, it is a pretty commentary on the need of reformation of a Church which could elect such a man pope in 1410, even if the Council deposed him in 1415, and of whom Erles makes the striking remark that he "was neither better nor worse than his contemporaries."¹⁷ This is particularly interesting if the remark of his biographer Dietrich is true that while he had the upper hand in Bologna he outraged 200 maids, matrons and widows, including a few nuns. Of Francis Della Rovere, Sixtus IV, pope when Luther was born, a contemporary has these words in a Latin poem: "Voracious pimp, pathie (devotee of unnatural lust), prostitute, informer, adulterer,—if he comes to Rome there he would be seen through. A noted paederast, a furious plunderer, adulterer, the ruin of the city, the pest of God. O old Nero praise, Sixtus surpasses thee in crime, for he at once incloses every wickedness and vice."¹⁸ He was in the conspiracy to murder Julian and Lorenzo Medici in one of the Churches of Florence, defended the murderers against justice, and laid the country under an interdict to force their acquittal. The pope who reigned when Luther was a child, Cibo (Innocent VIII) was celebrated in the witty sallies of the time as one who had "placed the City Fathers in debt to him because he had restored the city exhausted as to its progeny,"—increased its population, and in an epitaph suggested for his tomb Marullus thus damned him: "In the tomb by which thou art covered, O (Innocent the) Eighth, filth, gluttony, avarice, and lazy sloth lie buried." It is of this pope that old Chronicler Infessura relates the

16 Council, Constans, sess 11. See Lea, 344 and notes.

17 "Dietrich von Nieheim," 1887, 341, quoted R. E. 3 Aufl. ix. 271.

18 Steph. Infess. Diar. Rom. ann. 1484, quoted by Lea. 344 n. 2.

horrible story that he attempted to prolong his life by the blood of three boys whose lives were sold for money by their parents, in a potion or transfusion prepared by his Jewish physician. Another chronicler Burkhard is blank in these days, nor does Valori mention it, though Raynaldus knows the tradition, but adds that the pope refused the proposal.

In the year that America was discovered, when Luther was nine years old, the Spaniard Roderick Lanzol who took the name Borja (Ital Borgia) from his mother's brother, Pope Calixtus III, came to the papal throne as Alexander VI, who, with his far worse son, Caesar Borgia, made the name of Borgia forever famous and forever infamous. Modern scholarship is inclined for sufficient reasons to doubt the story of his contemporaries that he was criminally intimate with his own daughter Lucretia, but the very fact that that was the common belief is a sufficient commentary on the state of the papal court on the eve of the Reformation. The Latin Epigrams of Sanazarro unblushingly uncover this side of him. "Wherefore does Alexander always desire thee, Lucretia? O the fate of such an illomened name! And he the father?" "He (Alex. VI) upholds neither human laws, much less divine, nor the gods themselves! so that thus he should permit himself (alas! the wickedness!) patri natae sinum permigere, nor ever carried by fear away from such execrable nuptial acts."¹⁹ Pontanus has an epigram on another side of his activities. "Alexander sells sacraments, altars, Christ. What he has first gained he is able to sell by law." Roderick Lanzol Borgia was highly endowed in person and mind, was eloquent, prudent, an able administrator, knew the better way, but walked not in it. He was one of the handsomest men of his time, swayed women as did Aaron Burr with extraordinary fascination, and deliberately chose the path of voluptuousness. All his children born both before and after his elevation to the tiara were legitimated and bore his own name. Not the slightest

¹⁹ Sanazarro, "Epigr. ii; Lea 345 note.

shame was felt by any one concerned. He had indeed his chief paramour Vanozza married to three men successively, but this was done as a mere form, as they did not live with her, and everybody understood that her children were his. She lived in a house adjoining his wonderfully beautiful and sumptuous palace. By the time he became pope Vanozza's charms were beginning to wane, and he installed another mistress, Julia Farnese, whose brother many years later became Pope Paul III.

Alexander VI flung benefices to his children and relatives with lavish hand. "The Borgias, the Lenzuolis, and whatever else the swarming branches of this race of Aragonese hidalgos may have been called, now flooded Rome. 'Ten popedoms,' says a contemporary, 'would not satisfy the greediness of this clan.' For the eleven years of his pontificate Alexander held everything else subordinate to the one thought of building up a mighty house of Borgia that should take a permanent place among the potentates of Italy and Europe. Had he lived a few years longer, it is possible that his race might have become kings of middle Italy, reducing the immediate dominion of the Church (the Church lands or states) to the patrimony of St. Peter. Alexander at once made over the archbishop of Valencia and its 16,000 ducats to his son Caesar, who as much excelled his father in wickedness as his father excelled common men. His nephew he made cardinal. Alexander was the absolute type of the purely natural man, in an age in which the natural man, above all in Italy, was supreme."²⁰

The infamous reputation of the Borgia prelates has made some Catholic apologists of recent times try to dis-infect this nauseating memory. A very fair judge of Catholicism speaks of these defenders as busy nobodys swarming like vermin around the history of popes of evil repute, in the hope of nibbling away here a scandal and there a scandal.²¹ But sober historians of that Church

²⁰ C. C. Starbuck, "The Real Borgia," in *The Methodist Rev.*, N. Y., March 1898, 239.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 236.

have not hesitated to speak the truth. The eminent cardinal Hergenröther may be taken as a specimen. He calls Alexander immoral and vicious, hesitating at no means, master of expediency—politics, with a thoroughly bad past, begat several children in adultery, lived only for the satisfaction of his lusts and the enrichment of his children, and kept up that kind of life long after he came to the papal throne. Even though many of his transgressions are invented by his enemies, enough remain to hold his memory in moral abomination. All moral conscience failed in one so worldly and voluptuous.²²

When Alexander VI died Luther was twenty. Yes, it was time. There was need of the Reformation.

*Drew Theological Seminary,
Madison, N. J.*

²² "Kirchengeschichte" ii. 130 2 Aufl. See also the following Roman Catholic historians: Funk, K. G., 4 Aufl., 1902, 381; Kraus, K. G., 2 Aufl., 538-540; Pastor, Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters, 2 Aufl., 1895, iii. 271-502, esp. 279-90, 534-4, 449-52, 472-5; Reumont, in Wetzer and Welte, 2 Aufl. i. 483, 487-8.

ARTICLE III.

THE LITURGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE GENERAL SYNOD OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY REV. R. MORRIS SMITH, PH.D., D.D.

(Note.—The compilation of the following article demanded no great amount of general liturgical knowledge. The two prime requisites were,—a file of the Minutes of the General Synod, and patience. The former was placed at the writer's service through the courtesy of Miss Grace Prince, Librarian of the Zimmerman Library, Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio; the latter he exercised to the full measure of his ability. In many instances reports could have been considerably condensed, but the writer preferred to permit the Minutes to convey the history in their own language. Kindnesses shown by the Rev. Dr. J. A. Singmaster, Gettysburg Seminary, and the Rev. Luther D. Reed, D.D., Mt. Airy Seminary, are hereby acknowledged).

At a meeting of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, held in Harrisburg, Pa., in 1818, it was "*Resolved*, That the Synod thinks it were desirable if the various Evangelical Lutheran Synods in the United States were to stand in some way or another in closer connection with each other, and that the venerable Ministerium be charged to consider this matter, to prepare a plan for a closer union, if the venerable Ministerium deem it advisable, and to see to it that this union, if it be desirable, be brought about, if possible."¹ At a subsequent Ministerial session the following action was taken: "*Resolved*, That the officers of Synod shall contribute a corresponding committee, to bring about, wherever practicable, a union with the other Evangelical Lutheran Synods in the United States."² The

1 Documentary History of Pa. Ministerium, p. 517.

2 Doc. Hist. of Pa. Min., p. 522.

1819 Convention of the Synod of Pennsylvania met in Baltimore, Md. Two letters, evidently received by the corresponding committee, were placed before the Ministerium,—“one from Mr. Gottl. Schober, of North Carolina, and one from Mr. Quitman, of New York, in which they express the desire for a closer union of the Evangelical Lutheran Synods in the United States.”

“*Resolved*, That Dr. Schaefer, Dr. Kurz and Pastors Lochman and Endress, from among the preachers, and Messrs. Demuth, Keller, and Schorr, from among the delegates, shall constitute a committee to consider, together with Mr. Gottl. Schober, the matter of such a union of the Synods, and as soon as possible to draft a plan for this purpose.”³ The Minutes specifically record the fact that “Mr. Gottl. Schober, of North Carolina, and Secretary of the Ministerium of that State, presented his credentials as a delegate of their Synod, and received a seat and vote among us.”⁴ It appears that Mr. Schober had already prepared a “Plan”⁵ which formed the basis of discussion. After the Committee had submitted its report, a vote was taken and “it was found that there were forty-two for the General Synod, and eight against the same.”⁶ This proposed “Plan” was to be submitted to all Evangelical Lutheran Synods in the United States as a basis for a general organization. Upon its adoption by three-fourths of these different Synods, the President of the Synod of Pennsylvania, was to designate the time when and the place where this General Synod was to be held. A sufficient number of Synods having favorably considered the “Plan,” the Rev. Dr. J. G. Schmucker, President of the Synod of Pennsylvania, published Hagerstown, Md., as the place and October 22nd, 1820, as the time for this Convention. At this meeting the General Synod was organized.

The fourth item of this “proposed plan” reads as follows:—“The General Synod has the exclusive right with

3 Doc. Hist., p. 528.

4 Doc. Hist., p. 527.

5 Ev. Review, Vol. V:240.

6 Doc. Hist., p. 538.

the concurrence of a majority of the particular Synods to introduce new books for general use in the public Church Service as well as to make improvements in the Liturgy; but until this be done the hymn-books or collections of hymns now in use, the Small Catechism of Luther, the Agenda already adopted, and such other books as have been adopted by the existing Synods shall continue in public use at pleasure."

The delegates present at this meeting agreed upon a Constitution, which was to be referred to the various Synods for ratification, and if three of the Synods represented adopted the Constitution the Chairman was commissioned to convene the General Synod at Frederick, Md., on the fourth Monday in October, 1821. Three of the then existing Synods having approved the Constitution, the first meeting of the General Synod was held at Frederick, Md., Oct. 22nd, 1821. Matters of greater importance than the liturgies in use in the different District Synods claimed the attention of the general body, and hence we find no reference in the Minutes of the First (1821) and of the Second (1823) Conventions of the General Synod. But at the Third Convention, which again met at Frederick, Md., Oct. 1825, we find the following among its proceedings: "*Resolved*, That Dr. J. G. Schmucker, Rev. G. Schober, B. Keller, S. S. Schmucker, and C. P. Krauth, be a committee to prepare a Hymn-Book, Liturgy, and a collection of Prayers in the English language, for the use of our Church, adhering particularly to the New York Hymn Book, and German Liturgy of Pennsylvania, as their guides; and that they report thereon to the next General Synod." (Mins. 1825, p. 9). With the Hymn-Book referred to in this resolution we are not here concerned; and only in a casual way is it necessary to say that the "German Liturgy of Pennsylvania" to which the Committee was to adhere as a guide was that of 1818. A description of this Liturgy would be here in place, had the instructions been carried out; but the Committee came to the Fourth Convention of the

General Synod, which met at Gettysburg, Pa., in Oct. 1827, offered a report on the Hymn-Book but so far as the Liturgy was concerned, it was "*Resolved*, That the Committee on the Hymn-Book and Liturgy have leave to report on the Liturgy, at the next meeting of this Synod." (Mins. 1827, p. 9). An oppressive liturgical silence characterizes the Minutes of "the next meeting of this Synod," which was held at Hagerstown, Md., in Oct. 1829. Four years before, the Committee had been given definite instructions as to a Liturgy; but these instructions went unheeded. When the General Synod met in its Sixth Convention, at Frederick, Md., in Oct 1831, the action touching a Liturgy, is expressed in the following resolution: "*Resolved*, That this Synod will cheerfully encourage, by its sanction. . . . A Liturgy in the English language having reference to the works of this kind now used in different parts of our Church." (Mins. 1831, pp. 7-8). On page 19, in the pastoral address appended we are informed that the General Synod had resolved to prepare and publish certain works, among them being "A Liturgy for the use of our Church in the United States to be added to another edition of our Hymn-Book, which is soon to be published at Baltimore, in a larger type than that which has hitherto been used." Between that which was only *anticipatory* in the "cheerful encouragement, by its sanction" which the General Synod would give to a Liturgy and the *definite* announcement that a Liturgy would be prepared and "added to another edition of our Hymn-Book, which is soon to be published," the General Synod took a long step. How swelled with rapturous emotion must have been the hearts of our dear brethren of the past as they daily anticipated scanning this many-years-awaited Liturgy! How crest-fallen and sadly disappointed must have been those same hearts as they actually turned the pages of this longed-for liturgical product!

THE LITURGY OF 1832.

Some time between the General Synod Conventions of 1831 and 1833, the Hymn-Book with the appended Lit-

urgy appeared. This was in the year 1832. At the Seventh meeting of the General Synod, held in Baltimore, Md., in 1833, the editing committee reported,—“That agreeably to the directions of the last General Synod they had the Hymn-Book published in an 8vo form with the Liturgy.” (Mins. 1833, p. 13). Dr. S. S. Schmucker, of the Book Committee, reported,—“That agreeably to the directions of said body (G. S.) they delineated a plan for the several works ordered and notified the brethren elected by the Synod to undertake the labor. The following works have already been issued from the press: 1. The large edition of the Hymn-Book together with the Liturgy, which was prepared by the Rev. Mr. Lintner. The Liturgy was perused by the Book Committee and sanctioned by them.” (Mins. 1833, p. 17). Among the names of the Committee appointed in 1825 to prepare a Hymn-Book, Liturgy and a Collection of Prayers, the name of the Rev. Mr. Lintner does not appear. Neither is there any record in the Minutes that this Committee had been discharged, and a new one appointed. However in 1831 the General Synod determined to elect by ballot fifteen clergymen as an *Editing Committee* to prepare the works sanctioned by the Synod. The Rev. Mr. Lintner was one of this Committee. Whenever any member of the Committee had completed the portion of work assigned him, he submitted the same to the *Book Committee* for examination. The Book Committee consisted of the Rev. Drs. S. S. Schmucker, D. F. Schaeffer, J. G. Morris, J. G. Schmucker, and E. L. Hazelius. If a majority of this Committee approved any submitted work, the author was empowered to have it published under the sanction of the General Synod. This explains the report submitted by Dr. Schmucker. The Rev. Mr. Lintner had evidently been charged with the preparation of this Liturgy, and he did it in a manner satisfactory to the Book Committee.

What was this Liturgy? What were its chief characteristics? Only last April (1917) was the writer fortunate enough to find a copy of this Liturgy in an old book

store in Baltimore. The title page reads: "A Liturgy for the use of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Published by order of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States. Baltimore: Published by Lucas and Deaver, No. 19 S. Calvert Street, 1832." The Liturgy proper consists of twelve (12) Sections distributed over 31 pages.

Section I. is divided into (1) A form of Confession and Prayer which may be used at the Commencement of public worship. (2) Another form of a general prayer which may be used before Sermon. (3) Prayer which may be used after Sermon. (4) Benediction for the conclusion of public worship.

Section II. The Ministration of Baptism to Infants.

Section III. The Ministration of Baptism to Adult Persons.

Section IV. Of Confirmation.

Section V. Form of Preparation for the celebration of the Lord's Supper.

Section VI. Administration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Section VII. The Solemnization of Matrimony.

Section VIII. The Inauguration of Elders and Deacons.

Section IX. The Burial of the Dead.

Section X. Form for the Consecration of a Church.

Section XI. Form of Licensing Candidates for the Ministry of the Gospel.

Section XII. Form of Ordaining Ministers of the Gospel.

Twelve years had the General Synod resolved and waited for this Liturgy. The judgment of the brethren of the General Synod as to its merits, is reflected, I think, in the action taken at the next Convention, York, Pa., in June 1835. A letter was presented "from the vestry of the Evangelical Lutheran Church at Trappe, Montgomery county, Pa. This church is one of the oldest in the United States and appears much attached to the cause of our Lutheran Zion. The members desire that the Liturgy

and Prayers of the New York Hymn-Book be appended to the Hymn-Book of the General Synod." "The Liturgy and Prayers of the New York Hymn-Book" referred to by the Church at Trappe, Pa., were those that had recently (1834) appeared in the revised edition of the New York Synod's "Hymn-Book and Liturgy." The Committee to whom this letter was referred suggested "that a Committee be appointed to prepare a series of Prayers to be appended to the General Synod Hymn-Book and to amend the forms in the *present Liturgy*." The suggestion of the Committee resulted in the following action: "*Resolved*, That a Committee of seven clerical members be appointed to prepare a series of prayers to be appended to the Hymn-Book of the General Synod, and to amend the forms in the present Liturgy; and the said Committee is hereby requested to report as soon as practicable to the Book Committee, which, if a majority approve, shall be immediately put to press." Committee: Rev. D. F. Schaeffer, J. G. Morris, J. Bachman, Prof. Krauth, E. Keller, J. Z. Senderling, Samuel Rothrock. It was further "*Resolved*, That the prayers be appended to our Hymn-Book, of whatever size the edition may be, but that the Liturgy be appended to the large Hymn-Book." (Mins. 1835, pp. 12-13). This action plainly indicates that the whole conception of a Liturgy was restricted practically to a series of forms commonly known as "Ministerial Acts." That the congregation should assume an active part in worship beyond merely the singing of hymns; or, that worship should assume a responsive character, was a liturgical conception that did not at this period dominate the General Synod.

When the General Synod met at Hagerstown, Md., in June 1837, the Committee on Unfinished Business called attention to the resolution of the preceding meeting, whereupon it was "*Resolved*, That this resolution be referred to a Committee of three to report whether any, and what further action is necessary on this subject." Committee: Rev. Dr. Hazelius, Rev. J. G. Morris, and Rev. J. N. Hoffman. At a subsequent session this Com-

mittee reported as follows: "The Committee appointed to report on the proposed alterations in the Liturgy beg leave to recommend to Synod, That the Standing Committee appointed at the last session of the General Synod be continued and that they report at the next meeting the result of their labors." This motion was temporarily tabled; but at the fourth session it was again taken up and after some debate, it was "*Resolved*, That this report be given over to a Committee of two to report during the present session whether any further action is necessary on this subject." Committee: Rev. C. F. Schaeffer, and B. Keller. This Committee at once retired for deliberation and subsequently reported the following: "The Committee appointed to consider the subject of the Liturgy, beg leave to report as the result of their deliberations the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, 1st, That the Committee of seven mentioned in resolution 20 of the 8th Convention of the General Synod examine the Liturgy and Prayers of the New York Hymn-Book, and if they find *the last edition* to meet the wants of the Church, that they report to the Book Committee their approval of the same.

"*Resolved*, 2nd, That the Book Committee on receiving such a communication take proper measures to append said Liturgy and Prayers to our Hymn-Book." Signed, Chas. F. Schaeffer, Benj. Keller. This report was received and adopted and these two brethren were named as members of the Standing Committee to fill vacancies caused by death.

When the General Synod met in its Tenth Convention in June 1839, at Chambersburg, Pa., "the Committee on the Liturgy reported progress and obtained leave to co-operate with the Committee of the Synod of Pennsylvania on the same subject in preparing a uniform Liturgy for the use of the Church." The "last edition" of the New York Synod's Liturgy evidently did *not* "meet the wants of the Church."

In 1841 the General Synod convened in Baltimore, Md. We are surprised to find ourselves confronted with a

"minority" report, as follows: "The undersigned, the only members of the Liturgical Committee which could be conveniently consulted, beg leave to report—That action on their part in regard to the duties assigned has been impeded and that their labors have failed of consummation from various causes; amongst them may be mentioned the feeling on the part of some that the Liturgy already prepared and published by the Synod could not be displaced without serious inconvenience. In addition, the extensive introduction and use of liturgies in different parts of the Church they regarded as a great obstacle. The understanding, too, that their labors should be connected with those of the Committee appointed for a similar purpose by the Synod of Pennsylvania, precluded action till it was known what would be the result of the labors of that Committee. These not yet having been known, it was impracticable to undertake anything which should have reference to their work. Under these circumstances the Committee would advise the relinquishment of the matter by the General Synod and acquiescence in existing formularies and arrangements." Signed, John G. Morris, C. P. Krauth. (Mins. 1841, p. 11). The resolution in favor of the adoption of this report was lost. The Committee appointed to examine the Minutes of the Synod of Pennsylvania of 1840, reported: "This Synod (Penna.) by resolution, appointed the use of the Liturgy of the Synod of New York in their English churches, hoping that the General Synod will adopt said Liturgy and uniformity in our Church be thus secured and promoted." The "minority" report having failed of adoption, at the closing session of this Convention, it was "*Resolved*, That the Committee appointed to prepare a Liturgy for the use of our churches be re-instructed to prepare such a Liturgy as in their view shall answer the purpose intended, and present it at the next meeting." (Mins. 1841, p. 22). We are now approaching a new era in the liturgical history of the General Synod inasmuch as the year 1843 marked the beginning of a movement which culminated in

THE LITURGY OF 1847.

The Twelfth Convention of the General Synod was held again in Baltimore, Md., in 1843. The subject of the Liturgy was introduced in the following manner: "Prof. W. M. Reynolds offered the following preamble and resolution: "Whereas, Uniformity in public worship is highly desirable, and the introduction of a good Liturgy is well calculated to accomplish this object, and as the German Liturgy prepared by the Synods of Pennsylvania, New York, and Ohio, answers this purpose, therefore "*Resolved*, That we recommend said Liturgy to the Synods in our connection, and that a Committee of seven be appointed for the purpose of forming an English Liturgy upon the basis of the said German Liturgy." This led to the following action: "*Resolved*, That the subject embraced in the foregoing resolution be referred to a Committee consisting of one from each District Synod with the instructions to report to-morrow morning." Committee: Rev. E. Keller, Chairman; S. S. Schmucker, Senderling, P. A. Strobel, N. Pohlman, Eichelberger, Yeager, J. B. Reck, Babb, Prof. Reynolds.

The Rev. L. Eichelberger read the report of this Committee at a subsequent session. It reads thus: "The Committee to whom was referred the subject of the publication of a new Liturgy and the facts and statements made to Synod relative to the merits of the several liturgical forms, both German and English now in use in the Church have had the same under consideration and respectfully recommend to Synod the adoption of the following resolutions on the subject:

"*Resolved*, That uniformity in public worship and in the forms and ceremonies proper to be used in the Church in conducting among us the various exercises of religion, can only be secured by providing for the use of the Church a Liturgy that by its superior merits shall receive the sanction of the Church at large.

"*Resolved*, That this Synod regard the German Liturgy of the Synod of Pennsylvania as suitable for adoption

among our German Churches generally, and hereby accordingly recommend it.

"Resolved, That Rev. Dr. Krauth, Rev. Henry I. Smith, Rev. Prof. Reynolds, Rev. Dr. Morris, Rev. Dr. B. Kurtz, Rev. Chas. A. Smith, and Rev. E. Keller, be a Committee whose duty it shall be to prepare a Liturgy in the English language, having a reference to the German Liturgy of the Synod of Pennsylvania, as the basis of the same, as well as other liturgical forms now in use in the Church.

"Resolved, That 500 copies of said Liturgy be printed under the directions of the Committee and a copy be sent to each minister connected with the General Synod for examination until the next General Synod with a view to deliberate and final action on that occasion." Signed by the above-named Committee. This report was adopted.

We are next led forward to May 1845, the date of the Thirteenth Convention of the General Synod in Philadelphia, Pa. At an opportune time the Liturgical Committee appointed at the last Convention offered their report: "At an early period after the adjournment of Synod, they took steps to accomplish the work assigned them, in accordance with the directions of Synod. The first step was to divide it among the different members of the Committee. Each member received his share and performed the task assigned him. The plan was to translate the Liturgy of the Pennsylvania Synod and to make such omissions or admissions as each translator deemed advisable. After the whole was completed, it was furnished to the agent of the Book Company, by him printed for the use of the ministers, and sent to them. It is due to the Committee to state that the printing was done so hastily and with so little consultation of them that no opportunity was furnished of attending to accuracy in the printing, and an exceedingly imperfect edition was furnished the Church. In some instances the errors were so great as entirely to disfigure the sense, and the whole was calculated to make an unfavorable impression on the reader.

It is now sent to Synod with corrections made by the Committee in a careful revision, and various suggestions

from Synods and individuals. It is hoped that the Synods will, if it should be adopted, take especial care that it be not sent out to the Church in a form less elegant and accurate than the original.

The Committee deem it proper to state that the Liturgy in its present form possesses advantages, which no other, presented to the Church in the English language does. It is not claimed for it, that it is a more finished composition, or that it breathes a more evangelical spirit than others—but it is in these respects not exceptional. Its language may not possess the finish or fluency of an original composition; this is always necessarily the result of a translation from the German, unless great freedom is allowed; but it is sufficiently pure and idiomatic for the purposes for which it is designed, and its spirit is not only evangelical and Lutheran in an eminent degree, but in addition conveyed extensively in the very words of the Holy Ghost. The advantages which we claim for this Liturgy are:

1. It is more full than any other English Liturgy; it embraces more religious solemnities; indeed makes provision for all that have ever been regarded as sacred in this country.
2. It is pre-eminently the Liturgy of the American Lutheran Church springing from that portion of it which is the mother of us all and still held in high veneration by the earliest Churches of our connection, it deserves to be transmitted with our growing Zion in the United States in the various changes she may undergo.
3. If uniformity be desirable, it will be secured by the adoption of these forms. Whether we worship in the German or in the English language we will hear the pastor as he appears before the altar, utter the same truths and address us in the same manner, and pour forth before the Hearer of Prayer the same supplications.
4. It is not probable that the Church could be induced to receive another Liturgy with as much favor as this, simply because no other can present the same historical

recollections, and be accompanied with so many interesting associations.

5. A large portion of the Church, viz, the Synods of Pennsylvania, and Ohio, as well as the General Synod, having already adopted the German Liturgy, there seems to be a manifest necessity or at least a very strong call for a work not merely of the same kind, but as near as may be, the very same, in the English language." Signed: C. P. Krauth, B. Kurtz, W. M. Reynolds, Ezra Keller, John G. Morris, Chas. A. Smith.

The report was received and temporarily laid on the table. When later it was again taken up for consideration, it evidently provoked considerable discussion, and "it was on motion, *Resolved*, That the report of the Liturgical Committee and the resolutions, substitutes &c., now on the table be referred to the Committee on the State of the Church, to report some plan of action to-morrow morning." (Mins. 1845, p. 40). The Rev. Chas A. Smith, a member of the Liturgical Committee, was also a member of the Committee on the State of the Church and it was he who presented the report:

"The Committee upon the State of the Church to whom was referred the report of the Liturgical Committee, the Liturgy as revised by them, and the several propositions that were made in Synod relative to this matter, respectfully report: That they have given the subject a very careful examination and arrived at the following conclusions:

1. That the Liturgy is upon the whole such a work as the wants of the Church demand, though it needs a thorough revision by a single hand in order to secure unity of style and the highest literary excellence.

2. That no material changes can be made in it without endangering its acceptability and usefulness in the Church, and exposing us to the inconsistency of having two entirely different Liturgies, the one for our German and the other for our English members. In order to meet these difficulties they propose:

- (a) That the original forms of the New York Liturgy

with such improvements as are suggested by the translation, be substituted for the latter; that the first form of the New York Confessions be inserted in the place of the Second, and that other approved forms of the New York Liturgy be inserted where thought desirable, provided the size of the work be not too much increased thereby; to which end only one form shall be given for the less usual festival services.

(b) That the Liturgical Committee be continued and that each member of it be allowed to revise his work, after which the whole shall be given into the hands of Prof. H. I. Smith, of Hartwick Seminary, for general revisal, in which he shall have reference to the changes that have been or may be suggested by Synods or by individuals, but shall make no important changes of forms or of ideas that are not unanimously approved by the Committee."

This report was received and together with its suggestions adopted. It was then "*Resolved*, That as soon as the revised copies of the Liturgy can be finished, one copy be furnished to the Secretary of each of the District Synods, and that said Synods be recommended to examine the same and to instruct their delegates to the General Synod as to the course they are to pursue." (Mins. 1845, p. 42).

We are next informed that "the report of the Liturgical Committee presented yesterday was now taken up and adopted with the exception of a concluding recommendation which was stricken out."

Three years elapsed before the next Convention of the General Synod. Some time during the fall preceding, in the year 1847, this Liturgy was published, and when the General Synod met in its Fourteenth Convention in New York City, May 1848, Prof. H. I. Smith offered the report of the Liturgical Committee as follows:

"Your Committee on the Liturgy would respectfully say that after the action taken by the last General Synod relative to the work entrusted to them, there is but little for them to report. The last Convention, after adopting the Liturgy, gave it into the hands of the Chairman of the

Committee in order that he might give it uniformity of style. The individual charged with this important duty, endeavored to perform it to the best of his ability, by entirely retranslating the whole work, with the exception of a few pages, when it was again submitted to the inspection of all members of the Committee with the exception of one whose remoteness rendered it unavoidable to transmit the Ms. to him. The work has now been about nine months before the Church and several District Synods have approved it, and introduced it in their churches.

"In pursuance of a resolution, adopted at the last meeting of the General Synod 500 copies have been printed. . . .

"Your Committee would further recommend that a Standing Committee on the Liturgy be appointed, whose duty it shall be, whenever a new edition shall be called for, to direct and superintend its publication, and to make such corrections, additions, and improvements as may be necessary, or ordered by Synod.

"Praying for the blessing of God upon the work which they have now completed, they leave all further action in the matter to the Synod, respectfully submitting this as their final report." Signed: H. I. Schmidt, Chairman; Wm. M. Reynolds, C. A. Smith, B. Kurtz, C. P. Krauth, Sr., John G. Morris.

The following action on the report was taken:

"Resolved, That the report be adopted.

"Resolved, That in conformity to the resolution of the last General Synod, a copy of the new Liturgy be sent to the Synods in connection with this body and that said Synods be recommended to examine the same and to give an expression of their views to the General Synod through their delegates.

"Resolved, That the adoption of this Liturgy be recommended to our Churches, and that the Committee be continued and directed to carry out the suggestions of the report, and to make such other improvements as this body may from time to time regard as necessary."

On another page of the Minutes we are informed that

the thanks of the Synod were extended to the Rev. H. I. Schmidt for the care and ability displayed in the translation, as well as to the other members of the Committee for their co-operation in the work. Also that each member of the Committee be presented with an "elegantly bound" copy of the Liturgy containing an inscription of these sentiments.

The Liturgy of 1847 was an improvement over that of 1832, but it was still wonderfully far removed from what the General Synod attained to in its so-called "Washington Service," and more recently in "The Common Service."

The writer possesses a copy of this Liturgy and a brief description may not prove uninteresting to the reader. The title page reads thus: "A Liturgy For the Use of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Published by Order of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States. Baltimore: Printed at the Publication Rooms of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, No. 7, South Liberty Street, 1847," The "Preface," covering four and a half pages and signed by the Committee, contains many excellent suggestions as to the value and advantages of a Liturgy. There is also subjoined "a brief statement of the manner in which the work was produced." On the page devoted to the "Services for the Lord's Day" we have the following:

"The usual Order of Service for the morning of the Lord's Day is as follows:

"The minister rises and pronounces a benediction, or some other devotional passage of Scripture, and then gives out the hymn that is to be sung. After the singing he goes to the altar, and calls upon the congregation to confess their sins, or reads one of the general prayers for Sunday. The prayer is followed by the reading of a portion of Scripture, such as the Gospels, the Epistles, or some other suitable passage. After this the minister announces a hymn adapted to his sermon, and whilst it is sung, ascends the pulpit. After the close of the hymn he prays, preaches, and prays again; whereupon the con-

gregation, having sung another hymn, is dismissed with the benediction.

"Under ordinary circumstances the sermon should not exceed three-quarters of an hour in length. In the afternoon and evening service the prayer and reading of the Scriptures at the altar may be omitted. . . . The Lord's Prayer should be frequently used, but not oftener than once during the same meeting. . . ."

The matter is divided into fourteen (14) Sections, furnishing ample material for carrying out the minister's part, both in the conduct of the Lord's Day Service as well as all *Acts* covering his usual duties. The only part the congregation has lies in the hymn. This being the case, we are not at all surprised to find this wholesome advice: "Efforts should be made to improve the singing in the church as much as possible." The book contains 184 pages besides two and a half pages of "Contents."

"The Liturgical Question," however, was not settled. When the General Synod met in its Fifteenth Convention in 1850 at Charleston, S. C., the Liturgical Committee reported, but *what* the Minutes do not inform. Sometimes disagreeable subjects are readily disposed of by a motion to "lay on the table." Thus was it in this instance. It was, however, "*Resolved*, That the Committee on the Liturgy be continued." We also learn that "various suggestions on the subject of the Liturgy were then made by members of different Synods." One of the Synods connected with the General Synod had a carefully prepared report which its delegates submitted. We here present it in full:

**"REPORT OF THE MARYLAND SYNOD'S DELEGATION ON THE
LITURGY."**

"The Committee appointed by the Maryland Synod to report suggestions on the improvements to be made in the next edition of the Liturgy, beg leave to offer the following:

1. To introduce the Ten Commandments before the first form of Confession, and the Apostle's Creed after it.
2. To retain but one form for Infant Baptism, Preparatory Service, The Lord's Prayer and Marriage.
3. To prepare a suitable address to Catechumens before Confirmation and another after it.
4. To insert the Confirmation questions of the old Liturgy.
5. To prepare a suitable address to be used before proposing the questions to the communicants at preparatory service.
6. To insert the questions of the Maryland Synod's Constitution at the end of the form for installation.
7. To prepare two forms appropriate to the burial of children and youth in addition to the general one now in the Liturgy.
8. To insert the passages of Scripture which point out the Gospels and Epistles to be read during the Church Year.
9. To insert Family Prayers for one week and a few for special occasions.
10. To prepare a form for the organization of new Churches."

Signed: J. G. Morris, S. Sentman, J. A. Seiss, F. W. Conrad.

The whole matter was disposed of so far as this Convention was concerned when it was "*Resolved*, That the various suggestions for the improvement of the new Liturgy, that have been made by the District Synods to this Synod be referred to the Standing Committee on the Liturgy, and that those Synods which are not now prepared to report be requested to present their recommendations to said Committee at the earliest convenience."

The suggestions submitted by the Maryland Synod afford a partial glimpse of what a difficult task confronted the Liturgical Committee. The Committee was not in the least reticent in expressing itself on the subject as they did at the Sixteenth Convention, Winchester, Va., 1853. The following report was read by Prof. H. I. Schmidt:

"The Standing Committee on the Liturgy would respectfully report that since the last meeting of the General Synod various attempts have been made to make such alterations and improvements in the Liturgy published by this body, and to introduce such additional formulas as would meet the views and wishes frequently expressed in divers quarters of the Church; but that in these views and wishes they have found so much diversity, and so many irreconcilable differences, that they have given up the hope of accomplishing anything that would at the present time be satisfactory to the Church; and further that as the General Synod has desired that our English Liturgy should be substantially the same as the German Liturgy, published by the Synods of Pennsylvania, New York, and Ohio, and adopted by this body; and as those Synods are now subjecting the German Liturgy to a thorough revision, it is, at present impossible to bring our English into conformity with the German Liturgy, or at least to harmonize the two as completely as possible; and, therefore desirable to wait until that revision is completed and the new German Liturgy published.

In view of these facts and circumstances your Committee now beg to be discharged." Respectfully submitted: H. I. Schmidt, Chas. A. Smith, John G. Morris, B. Kurtz.

Considerable discussion was provoked by this report, but it was finally "*Resolved*, That the Liturgical Committee be continued and that they examine the Liturgy which is being prepared by the Pennsylvania and other Synods, with the view of reporting to the next General Synod such alterations in our present Liturgy as they may deem advisable."

We are further informed that "Rev. Drs. Schmucker, and Sprecher were appointed to fill vacancies in this Committee which now consists of Rev. Drs. H. I. Schmidt, S. S. Schmucker, S. Sprecher and C. P. Krauth."

The success of this Committee approximated that of the previous meeting. In 1855, the General Synod assembled at Dayton, Ohio. The Minutes inform us that

the "Rev. A. T. Geissenhainer presented an elegantly bound copy of the German Liturgy, recently adopted by the Pennsylvania Synod, in the name of that body. It was received, and Synod returned its grateful acknowledgments for the favor conferred." This was the Liturgy to which the Committee referred in their report at the previous meeting. Again the Minutes do *not* inform us *what* the Liturgical Committee reported. We are apprised that "the report was accepted and after considerable discussion was referred back to the Committee with the additional resolution: "That one member from each Synod not yet represented in the Liturgical Committee be added to it, the member to be chosen by the delegation present from that Synod, to consider the whole subject. This Committee was subsequently filled by the nomination of the following brethren: Rev. Dr. Bachman, S. C. Synod; Rev. Mr. Rothrock, N. C. Synod; Prof. Sternberg, Hartwick Synod; Rev. C. P. Krauth, Jr., Virginia Synod; Rev. L. Knight, Allegheny Synod; Rev. Dr. Stork, East Pennsylvania Synod; Prof. M. Diehl, Miami Synod; Rev. Dr. Sprecher, Wittenberg Synod; Rev. W. G. Keil, English Synod of Ohio; Prof. Springer, Illinois Synod; Rev. Dr. Bittle, West Virginia Synod; Rev. D. Jenkins, Southwest Synod; Prof. Conrad, Olive Branch Synod; Dr. C. F. Schaeffer, Pennsylvania Synod; Dr. Harkey, Northern Illinois Synod; Dr. W. A. Passavant, Pittsburgh Synod; Rev. Mr. Wendt, Texas Synod; Rev. A. J. Weddel, English District Synod of Ohio; Rev. D. Harbaugh, Kentucky Synod; Rev. J. F. Williams, Central Synod of Pennsylvania." It was also "*Resolved*, That a pocket edition of the General Synod's English Liturgy, now in use, be published by the Liturgical Committee, to meet present wants, provided that it shall not involve any outlay on the part of this body."

We cannot refrain from introducing at this point the words of Dr. Wm. M. Reynolds in writing of this meeting: "The Liturgical Committee having recommended the correction of the liturgical forms by the Synod, and the issue of a new edition, the liturgical question was

taken up, and gave rise to expressions of opinion, various in their character. It seemed to be conceded that the General Synod's Liturgy does not meet the wants of the Church. In view of this fact, and that the General Synod, after the labor of many years, had reached no satisfactory result, it was the judgment of some that the whole matter should be relinquished, and left to District Synods, several of which already have liturgies of their own in use.

On the other hand, it was replied, that the Synod having devoted so much time and labor to this work, ought not to abandon it, that a successful issue was not impossible, and that a general liturgy, for the sake of uniformity, to be used in all our churches, was highly desirable. It was further urged that the Pennsylvania Synod having completed, after immense labor, its liturgy, it might be employed in meeting the defects of the General Synod's book. . . . *To us it appears, that the conviction is extending itself more and more, that our Church is liturgical, that such forms ought to constitute a part of our public worship, and that there should be uniformity in their use. Difficulties are, doubtless, in the way, but prudence and moderation will, we think, overcome them.*"⁸ The italics are ours. Interpreted in the light of to-day this language was prophetic.

The result of the instructions to have a "pocket edition" issued we have before us in what is practically

THE LITURGY OF 1856.

This differs only in minor points from that of 1847. The writer possesses a copy of this edition, and the only differences noted are the following: The publisher is T. Newton Kurtz instead of "Publication Rooms"; the "Table of Contents" is brought from the end of the book to the beginning; the "Preface" omits the statement as to the manner in which the Liturgy was produced; the name of Ezra Keller is added to the Committee; under

8 Evangelical Review., Vol. VII:128ff.

the heading, "Services for the Lord's Day," the last sentence with reference to "Choral Singing" is omitted; the following "Preface to the Smaller Edition" is inserted: "In the following edition of the Liturgy, the Committee appointed by the General Synod, who reported progress at the meeting in Dayton, Ohio, in 1855, and were continued, have merely *abridged the rubrics* by conforming them to the Formula of the General Synod, and added the so-called Apostles' Creed, and the Lord's Prayer in separate form, as recommended in their report, without attempting any improvement in the phraseology of the prayers, a very few instances excepted." Signed: S. S. Schmucker, C. P. Krauth, Sr., B. Kurtz, S. Sprecher. July 25th, 1855.

In turning to the Second and Third Articles of the Apostles' Creed, introduced after the First Form of Confession of Sin, we note the Committee used the phrases, "descended into Hell," and "The Holy Catholic Church," explaining, however, the word "Hell" by "place of departed spirits"; but when we turn to the questions asked in Baptism, the phrases "descended into the place of departed spirits," and "the holy Christian Church" occur. In the first instance the "semi-colon" is used after the word Church, but in the second the "comma."

In 1857 The General Synod met at Reading, Pa. The large Committee appointed at Dayton, Ohio, in 1855, evidently had no report to offer. But we find that "The Committee from the Lutheran Board of Publication, asking for the publication of its Hymn Book, Liturgy and Catechism, was read. The whole subject, with the accompanying documents, was referred to a special committee consisting of Rev. Messrs. A. H. Lochman, S. Sprecher, D.D., A. J. Karn, and Messrs. G. A. Barnitz, and F. Smith." This special committee made no report and so we come in 1859 to the Nineteenth Convention of the General Synod in Pittsburgh, Pa. Whilst there was nothing to report along liturgical lines, at least *constructively*, the Rev. Dr. Pohlman reporting for a Committee informed the Synod that "The Committee cannot find

that the Committee on Liturgy appointed at the Dayton session have either made report or been discharged," and so *destructively* it was "*Resolved, That the Committee on Liturgy, appointed at Dayton, be discharged from further duty.*"

Let us hope that the '60's will produce better results than did the 50's, even though the din of war sounded loudly over a divided nation during this decade, and the General Synod faced a grave crisis which ultimately resulted in the organization of another general body.

The disturbed condition of our country prevented a meeting of the General Synod in 1861, but in 1862 the Twentieth Convention met at Lancaster, Pa. At the first session of the third day's proceedings, "Rev. B. M. Schmucker presented to Synod for examination a copy of the English Liturgy of the Synod of Pennsylvania, which was received and referred to a special Committee consisting of Rev. B. M. Schmucker, S. Sprecher, D.D., S. W. Harkey, D.D., T. Stork, D.D., G. B. Miller, D.D., W. H. Harrison, D.D., and Prof. P. Born." On the sixth day and at the second session, "Rev. B. M. Schmucker, from the Committee to whom the Liturgy of the Pennsylvania Synod was referred, presented a report, which was received, and after discussion, the whole subject was disposed of by the adoption of the following resolutions:

"*Resolved, That a Committee of one from each District Synod here represented, be appointed, to be called the Liturgical Committee, to whom this report shall be referred together with the Liturgy of the Pennsylvania Synod, the General Synod's Liturgy, with the instructions to propose a Liturgy for the use of our Churches, at the next Convention of the General Synod.*

"*Resolved, That each delegation name its own member of the Committee and that the Committee thus appointed, select its chairman.*"

LITURGICAL COMMITTEE.

J. G. Morris, Maryland Synod; S. S. Schmucker, Western Pennsylvania Synod; G. A. Lintner, Hartwick; N. H.

Pohlman, New York; S. Yingling, Allegheny; M. Valentine, Eastern Pennsylvania; W. H. Harrison, Miami; S. Sprecher, Eastern Ohio; G. Crouse, Wittenberg; B. C. Suesserott, Illinois; J. A. Kunkelman, Olive Branch; G. F. Krotel, Pennsylvania Synod; S. W. Harkey, Northern Illinois; W. A. Passavant, Pittsburgh; B. Pope, English Synod of Ohio; W. G. Harter, Kentucky; D. H. Focht, Central Pennsylvania; H. Wells, Northern Indiana; Prof. H. Eggers, Southern Illinois; Prof. A. M. Geiger, Iowa; B. Kurtz, D.D., Melancthon; J. H. Barclay, Synod of New Jersey.

(To be continued.)

ARTICLE IV.

IS THERE NEED OF A RESTATEMENT OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE?

BY LEANDER S. KEYSER, D.D.

There lies before us a booklet fresh from the press. It bears the title, "The Need of a Restatement of Theology." Its author is the Rev. Edwin Heyl Delk, D.D., late lecturer on theology in Temple University. On its title-page it carries the imprimatur of the Lutheran Publication Society, Philadelphia, but on the next page is inscribed this legend, "Copyright, 1917, by Edwin Heyl Delk." The meaning, no doubt, is that the Publication Society has simply printed the book for the author and at his expense.

The volume contains the substance of Dr. Delk's article, "The Minister and Modern Thought," which was published in THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY for October, 1912. A few of the opening portions of the original article have been omitted, and a new section on "The Person of Christ" has been added. Otherwise the essay appears almost, if not quite, as it was first printed.

In THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY for April, 1913, we published a criticism of Dr. Delk's production. Apparently he has not been in the least affected by the criticisms offered, but follows the well-known policy of liberal writers the world over—he ignores them. In his "Foreword" he takes the pains to say: "I see no reason for any modification of the statements I made in my original essay." Thus, so far as his own convictions are concerned, his motto is that of the Roman Church—*semper idem*. From 1912 to the present is about five years. In these days of "modern thought" and "modification" and "restatement" it is rather remarkable that a writer would change scarcely a sentence of an essay in half a decade. We are sure that, if we were to reprint our essay of 1913, we would revise it a good deal, and try to make its statements

clearer, stronger and more convincing. But, of course, we are a "conservative and confessional theologian," and so it would be expected in us to be able to make *some* progress and improvement in the course of four or five years.

The "Foreword" also contains this assertion: "I now recognize, however, that, in presenting the facts which compel a restatement, perhaps a reconstruction, of the older theology, my critics have misunderstood the stress intended, and the extent of the modification of Christian dogmatics which would result from the acceptance of the newer point of view. In my own thinking, nothing of essential or enduring Christian dogma has been eliminated."

If the author's critics "misunderstood the stress intended," would it not have been kind and courteous so to revise his statements as to remove the ground of the misunderstanding? Nay, would it not have been in his own interest and in the interest of truth to do so? Instead of helping his critics to understand him better, he simply goes ahead and repeats his asseverations in precisely the same verbiage. For our part, as one of his critics and friends, we are anxious to understand him, and would rejoice if he could so state his views as to convince us that he stands on evangelical and Lutheran ground.

It is not our purpose to review the whole essay, nor to repeat the criticisms offered in our former article. Our chief intention is to examine the Christological chapter that has been added to the essay. But before that is done, we must deal with a few prior matters.

We begin with a statement in the "Foreword": "The rabbinical, the judicial, the metaphysical formulas in which the Christian facts were construed by St. Paul, Athanasius, Augustine, Anselm and Aquinas have passed for most moderns. Historical criticism, psychology, and a philosophy that deals with the facts of science, rather than an abstract metaphysic and logic, compel us to find other formulas for presenting the truths of Christianity."

This is, we confess, a sad and disheartening statement

right at the start. Even St. Paul's "formulas" "have passed for most moderns," and the times "compel us to find other formulas." We would not mind so much if he had not included St. Paul in the list of the obsolete theologians. His statement simply destroys St. Paul's inspiration. St. Paul's epistles are a part of the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. We cannot pause here to prove that Paul was inspired, but we must call attention, and that in the kindest spirit, to the fact that the General Synod, of which the author of this book is a minister, "receives and holds the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the Word of God and the only infallible rule of faith and practice" (see the General Synod's Constitution, Art. II). Therefore, according to our author, the General Synod's doctrinal formulas "have passed for most moderns," of which he professes to be one.

In the above list of outgrown theologians Athanasius is also included. His formulas, too, are "rabbinical, juridical and metaphysical," and "have passed for most moderns." There can be no doubt that the reference is to the Nicene Creed, of which Athanasius was the chief author. However, let it be understood that the Augsburg Confession endorses these very Athanasian "formulas" (see Art. I), and the General Synod "receives and holds the Unaltered Augsburg Confession as a correct exhibition of the faith and doctrine of our Church as founded upon the Word" (see Art. II of the General Synod's Constitution).

So much, then, for the "Foreword." In the next place, we would call attention to the fact that only two or three times in this whole book is appeal made to the Holy Scriptures. Two sayings of St. Paul are cited on page 21. In this book practically the whole appeal is made to modern thought, modern scholarship, Biblical criticism, modern science, psychology and the Christian consciousness. Man's wisdom is the sole norm, not God's wisdom—at least, not the Holy Scriptures. Again we wish to remind our readers that this view is totally different from

that of the whole Lutheran Church in America, which constantly makes the Holy Scriptures the final and deciding court of appeal. According to her constitution, the General Synod stands on this Biblical ground with all the rest of her sister synods.

The author's two opening paragraphs are new, being substituted for something else in the original paper. Hence we give them brief notice. The first sentence is, "This essay is a report, not a personal confession, of faith." Honestly we do not think any one can shirk responsibility in that way. All through the essay the writer gives the impression that he is registering his own views. If he does not accept his own "report," and still does not accept the old-line theology, what does he believe and why has he written this piece? So in spite of his disclaimer, we are compelled by the ethics involved in the case to believe that this book is "a personal confession of faith."

In his second paragraph he says: "The older conceptions of inspiration and infallibility have passed, and a **truer and more reasonable** conception of them has been current among students for a generation."

In one respect this is a slipshod statement. He says of "infallibility" that a "truer and more reasonable conception" is now current. This is not true, for, by his own showing in this book, the modernists do not accept *any* conception of infallibility. They do not believe in infallibility at all; not in the Bible, nor in the Church, nor in the Christian consciousness, nor anywhere else—unless, forsooth, it should be in "modern scholarship"! But, no! even that surmise is a mistake, for on page 34 our author says, "It is true that we are not now in a position to project finished systems of theology, as writers of an earlier age did," etc. So his language is not careful and precise when he makes the above declaration regarding "infallibility." Here we would gently remind the reader that the General Synod in her constitution declares that she "receives and holds the Canonical Scriptures" to be "the only *infallible* rule of faith and practice."

Note, too, what the author says about the "older conceptions of inspiration." They also "have passed." The older conception is that "every Scripture is God-breathed" (2 Tim. 3:16); that "no prophecy ever came by the will of man; but men spake from God, being moved by the Holy Spirit" (2 Pet. 1:21). Of course, these citations from the Bible will not count with the liberalists, for the inspiration of the Bible is the very point at issue; but the fault we find with our author's assertion is that he rejects the older conception of Biblical inspiration by an *ipse dixit*, and yet nowhere gives us his "restatement" of the doctrine. What is *his* conception of Biblical inspiration? On pages 33, 34 he speaks of "that tyrannous literalism and false idea of inspiration," but nowhere can we find an attempt to state the modern "truer and more reasonable conception." We regret to say that this essay is far more destructive than constructive. If he should reply that in so brief an essay he could not expatiate, we would reply that he should have held back its publication until he had time to think out the positive side of the questions at issue. Moreover, it would have added no more than a page to his booklet to have given clear-cut definitions of inspiration and infallibility according to the "assured results" of modern criticism. The fact is, the liberal men do not have lucid ideas of the doctrine of Biblical inspiration. They are much more adept at saying what they do not believe than what they do believe.

From the second paragraph on to the new section on the person of Christ the book is the same as the original essay. With its contents we dealt in our article published in 1913. We wish to drop down for a moment on page 19, where evolution is defined as "God's method of creation." This is inaccurate and unscientific language. The terms "evolution" and "creation" are not synonymous; they belong to different categories entirely. Creation means bringing into existence an entity that had no existence before; evolution means the development of something that already exists. In the beginning God created the primordial matter; after that He evolved or un-

folded it according to the laws of its own constitution, adding something new by creation whenever such a work was necessary. A clear and precise thinker would not confuse evolution and creation, nor identify them, but would define evolution as God's method of unfolding the cosmos from its original simple form or state to its present complex forms or condition. We are not against evolution within its proper limits; there are evolutionary processes in the cosmos to-day, and have been ever since the Almighty created the primordial material. But evolution is only a *part* of God's *modus operandi*. Creation and miracle are the other parts. To use the word "evolution" for the entire process is to stretch it to the breaking point, and is therefore unscientific. Mere evolution—which is development by "resident" forces—is not adequate to the task of producing the universe, and bringing it to its present status of advancement, including man, with his rational, moral and spiritual enduements. If you are going to have an adequate view—and an adequate view is the only scientific view—you must use more terms to describe the whole process, namely, creation, miracle and evolution. We leave it to any clear thinker whether those three great words will not afford an adequate explanation of the cosmos as we have it to-day. Here you have assigned a sufficient cause for every effect and event; you have not violated that fundamental law of all thinking—"no effect can be greater than its cause."

We pause for a moment on page 23, where the author says: "As related to the Incarnation, the theory of evolution is in strict accord with the Christian conception. The Incarnation is that fresh and unique entrance of the divine life of the Godhead into human history which is personalized in Jesus Christ."

That is a very unscientific statement. Cannot any one, even without great scholarship, see that a "fresh and unique entrance of the divine life into human history" would not be evolution? Evolution is the development of something by means of *resident* forces. If you introduce something from without into the substance or the

process, it is not evolution. A "fresh and unique *entrance* of the divine life" into human history would be the introduction of something new from without—a new divine element. Strangely enough, our author describes a miracle, and then calls it evolution! We heartily agree with his definition of the Incarnation, so far as it goes, but we object to his label. This unscientific use of terms causes so much misunderstanding and confusion of thought! Page 24 contains this modest concession: "It is too soon even for a master mind to attempt the formulation of a complete Christian theology in the light of evolution." Yes, we agree to that; for when a proponent of evolution describes it as a "fresh and unique entrance" of something into something else, it is very much "too soon." Moreover, if it is "too soon even for a master mind" to produce new formulas, how can the liberalist be so cocksure that it is not too soon to discard the old formulas? Quite sure are we, at all events, that St. Paul, Athanasius, Chemnitz, Gerhard and Krauth never would have committed the egregious blunder of describing a miracle and then labeling it evolution. That exploit must be left for the advocates of "modern thought."

Further down on page 24 we find this: "One great, controlling idea it (evolution) has stimulated in all theological as well as philosophical thinking, i. e., the immanence of God in the whole continuous and endless creative process." Notice the unscientific use of the word "creative" again. "It has corrected that conception of God which separates Him from an active entrance into all life. It has broken down a false dualism—the barrier between the divine and the human."

Here we must charge modern evolutionism and thinking with trying to capture and claim honors that do not belong to them. Do these modernists really think that they have discovered the great doctrine of the divine immanence? When was there a time when orthodox Christian theologians did not teach it and insist upon it? The Bible teaches it everywhere. That God is omnipresent is inculcated in the 139th Psalm; yes, and long before that

melodious poem was written. Paul said, "In Him we live, and move, and have our being." Christ said, "My Father in you, and ye in Me, and I in you." We have read many Lutheran theologies of the orthodox type, but we do not know of one that did not treat the doctrine of the divine immanence or omnipresence among the other *theologici loci*. They even teach that God is present with the wicked, and sustains their lives even while they are sinning, though He does not concur ethically in their wrong doing, but spares them in order to give them a chance to repent. (See Jacobs' "A Summary of the Christian Faith," p. 73, q. 21; Valentine's "Christian Theology," Vol. I, pages 149, 229, 230). In the days of Deism in England, what did the Christian apologists do but defend and uphold the immanence of God, as well as His transcendence? Every one of them, from Bishop Horne to William Paley, did this. No; the doctrine and experience of the divine immanence is not a recent discovery, either of science or of the "new" theology. However, the pantheistic heresy of the divine immanence, which denies the divine transcendence and personality and identifies God and the universe—that all evangelical theologians now reject, and always have.

The section on Christology must now claim our attention. This is the new chapter of the essay. With regret we have to say that, for the most part, the author's treatment of the person of Christ and His atonement is not Biblical, nor Lutheran, nor well reasoned, nor adequate. The opening sentences of this division are commonplace, and so we need not tarry. Soon, however, he shows his radical "modernism." Let him speak for himself: "The metaphysical and docetic atmosphere in which most of the earlier treatises were projected has been superseded by the historical, human approach in the study of our Lord's personality. Not that the supernatural factors, as declared in the New Testament, are ignored or denied, but that the earthly, human side of Jesus' nature and career has become the starting-point for the study of His person. Albert Schweitzer, in 'The Quest for the Historical

Jesus,' has given us the classic study of this phase of the person of Christ."

The reflection on "most of the earlier treatises" as "metaphysical and docetic" is untrue and unjust. That there were docetists—those who denied the reality of Christ's human nature—in those days is true enough, but they were always condemned as heretics by the orthodox party. Dr. Delk's sweeping assertion would seem to include even the framers of the Nicene Creed, which asserted the true manhood of Christ; and so did the Athanasian Creed; so the Augsburg Confession; and we do not know of a single Lutheran theologian who has not rejected docetism, and taught that Christ is "very man of very man." But our author holds that "the human side of Christ has now become the starting-point in the study of His person." That is just the danger of this radical "modernism"; it puts so much emphasis on the human side that, if it does not deny, it at least neglects, the divine side. It even tries to account for the person of Christ by evolution. We have read Albert Schweitzer's book, "The Mystery of the Kingdom of God," which is a later work than the one that Dr. Delk praises so highly, and we are bound to say that he makes Christ so decidedly human, with His mistaken and even fanatical notions of eschatology and apocalypse, that we cannot see where His divine nature could have a place. To attribute human frailty and error to Christ is certainly to destroy His value as the divine-human Saviour of the world; the One in whom we can repose unfaltering trust for our eternal salvation.

At all events, to make Christ's human nature the starting-point is not the Biblical way, which emphasizes both the divine and the human elements in His person proportionately and correlates them properly, and thus forms the basis for our evangelical creeds and systems of theology. Suppose we just scrutinize the Biblical method for a little while. In Matt. 1:18-23 we have the narrative of the interview of the angel of the annunciation with Joseph, in which Joseph was told that Mary, his betrothed

wife, was with child by the Holy Ghost. Then the angel said: "And she shall bring forth a son; and thou shalt call His name Jesus; for it is He that shall save His people from their sins." And the name Jesus, when traced back through the Hebrew, means Jehovah-Saviour. Here both the divine and human elements are indicated. A little later the angel said, "And His name shall be called Immanuel, which is, being interpreted, God with us." Here the Deity of Christ is clearly indicated. The Bible does not make the human nature "the starting-point." Indeed, it starts with both natures in conjunction, with Christ's whole theanthropic person, the well-balanced Book it is. We confess to a decided preference for the Biblical way of putting things. It does not put them one-sidedly. In St. Luke's account of the angel Gabriel's visit to the Virgin Mary, we find the same beautiful co-ordination of the divine and human elements in Christ's person. And all through the thrilling narratives of the evangelists both natures proceed together in the unity of the person. Now this nature, now that, comes most to the fore; but Christ is always the one person, the one "I," the one "He." For the most part, Jesus lived a natural human life, but here and there His divinity flashed out in a wonderful way, just as should have been the case if He was the incarnate Son of God. From the full Biblical representation our evangelical theologians have drawn and formulated their Christological doctrine.

Again we quote from our author: "But the abiding fact of the indwelling of the divine nature in Jesus does receive a different interpretation from that presented in the Chalcedonian Creed, or that of the speculative *communicatio idiomatum*."

It certainly is poor theology to speak of "the indwelling of the divine nature in Jesus"; at least, it is an ambiguous mode of expression. It sounds as if the author believed that Jesus was merely a human being in whom the divine nature dwelt. If that is what the author meant, he is wrong theologically, and his teaching is absurd and puerile. For if Jesus was merely a human per-

son in whom the divine nature dwelt, then Jesus was one person and the divine nature another, and that would make Him a being composed of two persons; which would be an absurdity. No; the divine nature was a constituent element of Christ; indeed, it constituted the *ego* of Him. The divine Logos assumed human nature, not a human person. If the divine Logos, who was a person from eternity, had taken a human person into His Godhead, the result would have been a being with two *egos*; which, as we have said, would have been an absurdity, not to say a monstrosity. It would have made the unity of Christ's self-consciousness impossible. Then He would have had to say "We," and could not have said "I." On the other hand, if the divine nature merely dwelt in Jesus as a human person, then there was only a *mystical* union between Him and the Logos; there was no hypostatic union, no divine incarnation. The proper Deity of Christ would thus be nullified. If He would differ from the Christian believer, who is also mystically united with God, it would be only in degree. He would not be unique; He would not be the God-man; He would not be the Redeemer of the world and the Lord of creation.

Observe that our brother cannot away with the Christology of the Chalcedonian Creed. This we regret exceedingly. The great creed in question makes one of the clearest, fullest, profoundest and most discriminating statements of the person of Christ that was ever formulated. It sets forth precisely the same doctrine that is found in the Nicene Creed, the Athanasian Creed and the Augsburg Confession. We quote from the creed of Chalcedon:

"We, then, following the holy Fathers, all with one consent, teach men to confess one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, the same perfect in Godhead and also perfect in Manhood; truly God and truly Man, of a reasonable soul and body; consubstantial with the Father, according to the Godhead, and consubstantial with us, according to the Manhood; in all things, except sin, like unto us; begotten before all ages of the Father, accord-

ing to the Godhead, and in these latter days, for us and for our salvation, born of the Virgin Mary, the Mother of God, according to the Manhood; one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, to be acknowledged in two natures, 'inconfusedly, unchangeably, indivisibly, inseparably'; the distinction of natures being by no means taken away by the union, but rather the property of each nature being preserved and concurring in One Person and One Subsistence, not parted or divided into two persons, but one and the same Son, and only begotten God the Word, the Lord Jesus Christ; as the prophets from the beginning have declared concerning Him, and the Lord Jesus Christ Himself has taught, and the Creed of the Fathers has handed down to us."

Marvellous! sublime! discriminating! Biblical! true! There we have the whole doctrine of the adorable person of our heavenly Lord and Saviour. We can accept it with all our heart. Note the unity of the person, hence oneness of self-consciousness; veritable Godhood ("consubstantial with the Father"); true Manhood ("in all things, except sin, like unto us"); the two natures in holy and most intimate union and communion, and yet without consubstantiation ("unconfused"); without transubstantiation ("unchanged"); without separation in respect to place ("indivisible"); without separation in respect to duration ("inseparable"). All the *loci* are beautifully correlated, and all apparent contradictions harmonized. Do we really need a restatement of the doctrine to put it in accord with the so-called "modern thought"? If we do, let us have greater clearness, not greater confusion and ambiguity. We challenge the whole modernist school to make a restatement of Christology that will excel, or even equal, the statement of the old Chalcedonian Symbol. In comparison, Dr. Delk's "restatement," made either by himself or by the authors he quotes, is hazy, nebulous; above all, partial and one-sided. And why? Because he and his school have not gone to the "pure fountains of Israel," the inspired Word of God, but to their own rationalistic thinking.

Our author also criticises the Lutheran doctrine of the *communicatio idiomatum*, or the communication of properties in the person of Christ. He calls it "speculative." But it is drawn from the Holy Scriptures, was taught by Luther, even if he did not use the term, and is advocated and defended in the Formula of Concord and by all our orthodox Lutheran theologians from Chemnitz and Gerhard to Krauth, Jacobs, Valentine, Graebner and Blomgren. This doctrine has been developed in the Lutheran Church in opposition to the Nestorian heresy, which so separated the divine and human natures as practically to divide the person of Christ. The dogma is a marvellous correlation of the whole Scriptural teaching on the person and natures of our Redeemer. Let us see if it is not so. There are three *genera* of the *communicatio idiomatum*. When Christ said, "The Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins," He used one form of the *Genus Idiomaticum*; that is, He predicated a divine attribute of the human concrete (the person viewed from the human side). When He said, "Father, glorify thou me with thine own glory, with the glory which I had with thee before the world was," He employed the *Genus Majestaticum*; which means that the divine properties were communicated to the human nature. For other conspicuous examples of the same *Genus* see Matt. 28:18; 28:20; Col. 2:9. When Paul declared that "Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures" (1 Cor. 15:3), he made use of the *Genus Apotelesmaticum*, meaning that both the divine and human natures shared in the death of Christ; the human nature dying, and the divine nature sympathizing with it in its suffering, supporting it through the ordeal, and giving infinite value and efficacy to the sacrifice. Call it "speculation," if you will, it is all taught clearly in God's Word.

Some of our liberal friends do not believe in these "fine-spun distinctions," as they call them. That is the trouble with the school; they seem to want to blur all distinctions. Is it because they do not have the mental acumen to see distinctions where there are differences, or have

they in heart gone over to monistic pantheism, and yet have not the courage to say so? We should like to know what their philosophy is—dualism or monism. Let us remember the good old adage: *Bene docet qui bene distinguit.*

Next our polemist dissents from the orthodox doctrine of the "two natures" in Christ, which, he asserts, "in its traditional form, imparts into the life of Christ an incredible and thorough-going dualism. In place of that perfect unity which is felt in every impression of Him, the whole is bisected by the fissure of distinction. No longer one, He is divided against himself."

Here he is wrong again. The distinction of natures taught by evangelical theology creates no schism in the person of Christ. "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself." It was the very purpose of the incarnation to bring the two natures into the most intimate and harmonious union and relation, so that, when our humanity is united by regeneration and faith with Christ, it is truly, lovingly united with divinity again. The moral and spiritual gulf between God and man that was caused by sin has been bridged by the incarnation of the divine Son of God. Originally God and man were in loving spiritual communion; then sin came and broke that fellowship; but the Logos came and restored it in and through His incarnation and soteriological work. It certainly is a beautiful, rational and organic method. There is nothing artificial and mechanical about it.

Nor is it true that this conception introduces "into the life of Christ an incredible and thorough-going dualism." There is no "bisecting," no "fissure." Just as before sin came into the world there was no schism between man's body and soul, so there is no antagonism between the divine and human natures in the person of Christ. True dualism there is, just as there is dualism in man, who is composed of body and mind, but no opposition, no antinomy. It is a curious thing that some would-be modern thinkers cannot see that two different entities can be joined in a most beautiful harmony in a universe that God has made. If He could make two different substances,

mind and matter, He certainly could so constitute them that they would blend into a perfect harmony, and that, too, without consubstantiation. So God could blend into a perfect union divinity and humanity in the one person of Christ without a consubstantiation of them. He who cannot believe that would better announce himself frankly as a pantheist.

Again Dr. Delk: "The self-consciousness of Jesus, as depicted by the evangelists, we may call divine or human as we please; to express the whole truth, we must call it both at once. But it is single consciousness after all; it moves always as a spiritual unity, and separatist or divisive theories do a grave disservice, not merely to clear thinking, but to religious truth and power. It hypostatizes falsely two *aspects* of a single concrete life," and so on through a sentence that vapors off into obscurity.

We deny point-blank that the last sentence quoted above states the truth. The Lutheran doctrine of the two natures in Christ does *not* "hypostatize" them. If this writer uses the term "hypostatize" accurately, he means that the traditional view *personalizes* each nature in Christ, thus making Him two persons. In the name of reason, why should any one so distort history? Orthodox theology, from the days of the council of Nice to the present time, has always opposed the Nestorian doctrine of separating the two natures of Christ into two persons. On the contrary, it has always insisted on the unity of the person in the two natures. Read all the ecumenical creeds and all the Lutheran Symbols, and see what the facts are. This is a marvellous thing—that a would-be modern thinker, who feels it his duty to restate Christian doctrine to bring it up to date, should accuse traditional theology of teaching the very heresy that it has always rejected with heart and soul.

As to the statement that the consciousness of Christ "is a single consciousness after all; it moves always as a spiritual unity," this is true, but it is only a part of the truth, and therefore is lacking in discrimination. Orthodox theology has always maintained that Christ's person

is one; one *ego*, not two; and therefore that His consciousness is a single consciousness. This is the very basis of what is known in Lutheran theology as the "unity of the person." However, the unity of the person—in other words, the singleness of the consciousness—is not in the least in conflict with the duality of the natures, and only superficial thinking would lead one so to conclude. The two natures in Christ are so intimately and lovingly joined in the hypostatic union that the one person is perfectly conscious of the fact of this union, and carries this consciousness harmoniously through both natures. If this statement seems abstruse, let us illustrate. Man is a dual being, made up of mind and body; but he is only one person; he has not a dual consciousness, but a single one; yet he is vividly conscious of the duality of his being. Does he not clearly distinguish between the *psuche* and the *soma*? For instance, when he eats, he says, "I taste this food." But he means that he tastes it with his body. When he uses his mind, he says, "I think." But he means that he thinks with his mind. He uses the same "I" in each case, the same undivided *ego*, and yet he distinguishes between the two natures of which he is composed. It would be strange if, when the divine Logos took human nature into His Godhead, He could not retain the unity of His consciousness, and yet distinguish between His divine and human natures and the peculiar functioning of each. No; our friend is wrong, not to say superficial, when he thinks that unity of consciousness cannot subsist with two natures.

When he says, "The self-consciousness of Jesus. . . . we may call either divine or human as we please," he is correct. That is precisely what is meant in Lutheran theology by the *Genus Idiomaticum*—that you may ascribe either divine or human *idiomata* to the concrete of the person regarded from either nature; that is, you may say: "The Son of Man (the human concrete) is almighty (a divine attribute), or the Son of Man died on the cross (a human attribute)." Or you may say: "The Son of God (the divine concrete) is almighty, or He died on the cross." Also: "Christ

(the concrete of both natures) is almighty, or died on the cross." Then our author correctly says: "To express the whole truth, we must call it both at once." Precisely; that is just what Lutheran theology means by the "Apothelematic Genus," namely, that the person performs every mediatorial act through both natures, the divine and the human, each functioning according to its own inherent constitution. To illustrate, while the person Christ died only according to his human nature, His divine nature suffered and sympathized with it, sustained it in the ordeal, and imparted infinite value to the expiatory sacrifice. Again, when our Lord multiplied the loaves and fishes, He, the person, performed the miracle by virtue of His divine nature; yet His human nature shared in the act in a very vital way. Just so, when a man (the human person) performs a physical or a mental act, we say, He (the *ego*, the person) did the act, but each nature performed its appropriate function in the act. Could anything be clearer, and at the same time more profoundly true and rational?

However, our author introduces confusion and error into his thesis when he represents the two natures in Christ as only "two *aspects* of a single concrete life." That means that the two natures are merged into one nature, which is consubstantiation; and surely, surely he cannot believe that there was a consubstantiation of the divine and human natures in the person of Christ. Why, that was the old Eutychian and Monophysite heresy of the first three centuries of the Christian era, which was condemned by all the orthodox councils of those times.

Next, we must enter the field of ontology, for our essayist leads us into these difficult and metaphysical spheres. On page 39 he quarrels with the idea of two natures "inseparately joined together" in a person. "To put it frankly," he says, "when we abstract personality what we vaguely call 'human nature' is not human nature in the least. There is no such thing as an impersonal human nature. In earlier theology human nature is taken as real apart from personality—the manhood is anhypostatic." This Lutheran doctrine our protagonist

rejects, and he calls on Seeburg and Loofs to abet his views.

We see no way but to think this matter through, difficult as it is. First, we think it a vague and indeterminate kind of philosophizing. If a "restatement" of doctrine means to substitute vagueness for the definite and comparatively simple statements of orthodox theology, we do not see that anything is to be gained. But, next, let us enter in *medias res*. Take the proposition: Apart from personality there is no such thing as human nature. That is to confuse quality with substance, *phenomenon* with *noumenon*. Personality is a quality, not an entity, not a substance. Is it not clear that without substance, you could not have quality; without the *noumena* you could not have the *phenomena*? True, we do not know what substance is, but we do know intuitively that, if the world is not a mere phantasm and delusion, there must be something there, the thing in itself, the *ontos*, or there never could be the attributes of weight, force, light, life, consciousness, egoism or personality. If there were no mental substance, there would be nothing to carry on thought processes. An absolute blank could not think; a piece of nothing could not feel or will. Figure it as you will, there must be "the thing in itself." One of the best definitions of mind that we have ever seen was made by a recent scholar and philosopher: "Mind is self-conscious substance."

Now, following the same kind of reasoning, we contend that there must be the *substance* of human nature, or there never could be human egoity. And God must have created the substance which He endowed with personality and all its other qualities. Therefore in the seminal depth of every human being there must lie the substance of human beings yet unborn, and therefore still impersonal, only awaiting the conditions of fertilization and procreation to be evolved into personal beings. There can be no "I" until conception (perhaps not until birth) has taken place. Only when the proper conjunction of the man and the woman occurs, is a new human *ego* born,

but it is born from the latent, seminal, and as yet impersonal substance of human nature carried down through the generations from the first human pair. There must be such a perduring human substance, or the race could not be perpetuated.

Apply this reasoning to the person of our Lord. The divine Logos, a person from eternity, entered the seminal depth of the Virgin Mary, and took from her the substance of human nature, both psychical and somatic, purified it from all sin and corruption, and assumed it into His Godhood in that mysterious act which we reverently call the incarnation. The Logos was a person, and therefore had no need to add another person to Himself. He did not first produce a human person in the Virgin, and then unite Himself with it; but in the very act of assumption He took only human nature into His Deity. Yes, the human nature was "anhypostatic" before the incarnation, but in the *unitio* it became "enhypostatic," receiving its personality from the divine Son of God. Why, it *must* have been so. Suppose for a moment that the Holy Ghost would have brought forth a human person, and then would have united it with the personal Logos, there would have been produced a being who was two persons; which would be a preposterous conception. It is not theologically correct, therefore, to say that the divine Logos assumed *a* human body and *a* human soul, for then He would have taken a human person into His Godhead. We should say, He assumed human nature in both parts, psychical and somatic.

Sometimes the objection has been made that, if the Logos assumed only human nature and not a human person, He could not be truly human, could not be "very man of very man," and so could not be our real human friend and sympathizer, after all. However, a little lucid thinking will clear away the difficulty, and prove that the Bible way is the right one. Personality is not an attribute that is peculiar to human beings. God is a person; angels are persons. A person is any kind of a being that has self-consciousness and can say "I." Thus egoity is

not something distinctive in human nature; it is the character and composition of human nature itself that is *sui generis*. It differs *qualitatively* from angelic nature and from the divine nature. That is the very reason why we call it *human*. Therefore, when the personal Logos assumed human nature, He became truly human, and hence can enter to the uttermost into the fellowship of all our joys and sorrows. It is the fact that the divine Son of God took our human nature into His very Deity that makes His companionship and sympathy so real and precious to us. The Bible way is always the right way, the profound way, the organic way.

It would not be becoming to ask the indulgent editors for more space. Therefore we shall not be able to discuss the work of Christ (Soteriology), which our author makes the mistake of treating under the head of "the person of Christ." We had intended to show the un-Biblical and un-Lutheran position taken by him on the doctrine of the atonement; also the weakness of his reasoning. But we are ashamed to ask for more space. Still, we must add, when this critic and opponent of evangelical and Lutheran theology holds that "the redemption of the individual" is based "upon our inner, spiritual, religious attitude of penitence and faith toward God as revealed in the suffering, wooing love of Jesus Christ," we can do no less than express our extreme sorrow and shame that a minister who bears the Lutheran name should propose such a heretical doctrine. For the rest, we would refer the reader to our article on "The Lutheran View of the Atonement," which was published in THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY for April, 1916. In conclusion, we would say, to a "restatement" *per se* of Christian doctrine we do not object, providing it is a clear and true explication and development; but to a "restatement" like that of this book, which obscures and nullifies our fundamental doctrines, we do enter our most earnest protest; and we hope that others who stand for evangelical principles will also speak out.

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ARTICLE V.

THE MESSAGE OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH TO AMERICA.*

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Our subject may be approached from two main points of view. The message of the Lutheran Church to America consists, I say, of two parts. The first part of our message grows out of the cosmopolitan character of the American people on the one hand and the evangelical character of the Lutheran faith on the other hand. The second part of our message grows out of the outstanding characteristics of American religious life on the one hand and the essential elements of Lutheran piety on the other hand. The one is a message from the catholicity of Lutheran doctrine; the other is a message from the vitality of Lutheran piety and Lutheran religious life.

First, then, the cosmopolitan American nation and the evangelical Lutheran faith.

It needs no argument, of course, to prove that America is a cosmopolitan nation. In a hundred ways each day it comes home to you that the American nationality is a composite product. I content myself, therefore, with affirming the fact, and I pass on. Only this must be observed in passing: the American nation is not a conglomerate heterogeneity; the American nation is not a mosaic of nationalities. A stranger coming to our country, if he should visit only our largest cities, might get the false impression that America consists of a patchwork of little Chinas, and little Italies, and little Germanies, and little Judeas, and so forth. If that were true, the message of the Lutheran Church to this country would be very different from what it actually is. Our message to Italy whether real Italy or little Italy, would be different from our message to America. And so on.

* An address delivered at the opening of the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, September 19, 1917.

No, our nation is not a mosaic of European nationalities. The typical American is an entirely new product and a very different thing from what you could find in Europe. Our nationality is the product of what William T. Stead called "Creation by Amalgamation." And that is important for our subject. The peculiarity of American institutions is the result of a long process of cultural reaction between the European and the western frontier. The forces dominating American character to-day are the outgrowth of a gradual development from the simplicity of primitive industrial society to the complexity of modern manufacturing civilization with its capitalistic spirit and its high finance. The European has conquered the wilderness but during the process the wilderness has reacted upon the European and made him over into a new character with new ideas and new ideals. With steady step the western frontier, that meeting-point between civilization and savagery, has been pushed across the American expanse and a few years ago was pushed into the Pacific Ocean. But this frontier has been the crucible in which the different European nationalities have been moulded into an entirely new product known as the American. The American nation is not a mixture of European nations; it is a new nation. And this is a fact of no small consequence in determining the message of the Lutheran Church to America.

For it has often been observed, of course, that there is a relation between the nationality of a people and the religious faith of that nation. This is a reciprocal relationship. That is to say, the nationality of a people influences and modifies the religion of that people, and conversely, the religion of a people influences and modifies the nationality of that people. In the light of that fact now I raise the question, What is the message of the Lutheran faith to the American people?

It is sometimes asserted that because of the national origins of the Lutheran Church and because of the distinctive psychology and temperament of her adherents, the influence of our faith in this wide-stretching country will always be limited and our message to this cosmopoli-

tan people will never be widely read. From without we are charged with being an alien religion, an immigration Church, an un-American faith. From within the complaint is sometimes made that the thin American soul is too shallow soil on which to produce a luxurious growth of genuine Lutheranism. A few months ago a certain Lutheran pastor lately arrived in our country from his native land in northern Europe publicly asserted that the Lutheran faith is really too deep for the practical superficial American mind to hold it. Now this simply expresses more or less precisely a thought that is held in various forms and in various quarters. And it has seriously interfered in times past with an adequate expression of our message to this country of which we are a part.

Well now, let us see: *is* the message of the Lutheran Church to America *limited* by virtue of any inherent qualities of our faith; is her influence on this nation circumscribed because of any essential characteristic of our Church?

There was a time, as you probably know, when many good people thought that Lutheranism was to be limited to a particular language or a particular nation. Even in our own country, with its men of broad vision and deep insight, that view was held. We know now that that was a mistake. After several generations of direful discussion of the question it is clear on all sides now that God's Word and Luther's teaching can be carried into many languages and can be translated into the thought and feeling of many nations.

True, the cradle of our faith was in Germany. But our faith has long since outgrown its cradle and has passed the period of its infancy. It is quite capable to-day of standing upon its own feet and indeed for some time now it has been walking quite nimbly up and down among the races of mankind. It can thrive in the atmosphere of any language and can flourish in the climate of any nationality.

It is true that the Lutheran Church, in the distribution of her membership among the nations of the earth, still

shows the effects of her historical origin. It is true that most Germans are Lutherans. The religion of Luther counts about forty millions out of a total population of about sixty-eight millions in the German Empire. And the Germans of other lands are predominantly Lutheran. *But* the German nation is not married to Lutheranism. For she admits Roman Catholicism to her bed and board and bank account with a liberality that makes the Pope's Church a close rival with Luther's in the graces of the German nation as a whole. And other Churches besides the Lutheran and the Roman Catholic are well represented among those who speak the German language. To be a German, therefore, is not necessarily to be a Lutheran.

And on the other hand, to be a Lutheran does not necessarily mean that one must be a German. It is true, most Lutherans *are* Germans. More than half of the Lutherans in the world are found in Germany, and millions of Lutherans in other lands are Germans of the dispersion. *But*, again the figures *are* misleading. Lutheranism is not wedded to the national genius of the Germans. The Lutheran fold does not limit its sheep to any particular stripe of nationality. There are whole nations outside of Germany where Lutheranism flourishes even more luxuriantly than in the land of Luther himself. In Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, the Lutheran Church reigns not only supreme but almost unanimously. And even in America I have heard that there are some very good Lutherans,—Lutherans who are so happy in their faith and so proud of their Church that they are willing to gather by the hundreds of thousands this year to celebrate the historical origin of their faith.

Again, it is true, Martin Luther, that noble man of God from whom our faith takes its name,—Martin Luther was a German of the Germans, the greatest and most German of them all, and in many respects a faithful embodiment of the spirit of his nation in that age. *But* Martin Luther was first of all a man and after that a German. And that great experience of his which gave birth to the great Reformation he realized as a member

of the human race and not as the citizen of any particular nation. Luther and his fellow Reformers never did claim to have invented a new religion. Nor did they even claim to have originated a new interpretation of Christianity. They only claimed to have rediscovered the original Gospel and to have introduced it into their own times. They would have been the first to deny that the religious movement of their day was the original product of their own German hearts and minds, and Luther himself would have been the last to consent that this revival of primitive Christianity, this restoration of the Pauline faith, should be known by his own or by any other distinctively personal or national denomination.

Now that brings us to the very gist of the whole matter. The Reformation faith is a faith that makes a universal appeal because the Reformation itself which gave birth to that faith dealt not with incidentals and particulars but primarily with fundamentals and elementals. The Reformation of the sixteenth century was not the work of a man nor was it the work of a nation. It was more than that. It was the working out of certain great principles. The times were ripe for the birth of those principles. But they had first to be experienced in the profound soul of some forceful personality before they could become effective in history. The chosen instrument of that mission was Martin Luther. He felt deeply himself and he wrought upon the very sources of human feelings in others. And so it was that the Reformation as it actually took place was the outward expression of the inner experience of this one man. There in the rugged soul of the Augustinian monk was fought out the battle between the two eras.

Ah! how your writers of fiction love to depict great mental crises in the lives of their imaginary heroes and heroines. And how these stories do charm us! Victor Hugo, in that greatest romance of all literature, describes with great vividness what he calls "A Tempest in a Brain," and lays bare the mental processes of his hero before the gaze of his fascinated reader. And since the days of Victor Hugo lesser literary lights have resorted

to the same device and have tried to fix the reader's attention upon the emotional life, the psychological passes, the silent reasonings, of their heroes. But I tell you, in this matter history is stranger than fiction. Luther in the birth-throes of the Reformation passed through a veritable tempest in the heart, a genuine crisis of the soul that surpassed anything that fiction can conjure up. And the result of that tremendous religious crisis, that terrific tempest in the soul of a sincere and thoroughgoing man,—the result of that experience was the unshakeable conviction within the heart and mind of Martin Luther that the just shall live by faith in Christ and alone by faith in Christ. That conviction, based on experience, became the very soul of the Reformation even as the Word of God afterwards became its body.

Now the point about that whole matter that concerns us to-day is this: when Martin Luther in the inmost experience of his deep pious soul gave birth to the material principle of the Reformation it was not the German in him, it was the human in him that there received expression. He had gone down in his devout struggle after a sense of forgiveness, a sense of peace with God,—he had gone down to those profound depths where incidentals have been lost, where particulars have been forgotten, and where one is on a level with the very elements of human nature. His prophetic genius touched the very heart-strings of human interest and human passion and struck a theme of universal appeal. His serious sensitiveness, his keen responsiveness to the divine impulse, led him to strike such a profound chord in the hearts of his fellows that it not only delighted his contemporaries and fascinated the people of his own nation but taken up by them has been resounding almost without intermission during four centuries past.

It was for the world he wrought, for the human race he travailed in his soul, for man as man he struggled, for humankind he agonized. In that experience of his he rose far above his circumstances of time and place. He laid hold on eternity. His spirit was drenched in the thoughts of eternity and his pen dripped with supernal

truth. That is why his religion has manifested power to take captive all ages and all races.

This, I claim, is a unique quality in Lutheranism. Luther in his Reformation experience sounded the very depths of human nature. As a consequence, the faith which bears his name makes a direct appeal to the very heart and soul of man, in a way that is without a parallel in any other form of Christianity.

You will understand what I mean when I explain there have been three main types of Christianity in the course of Christian history.

First, there is the Greek type of Christianity. And in the Greek conception of salvation the emphasis is placed upon the great contrast between death and life. Separation from God is death; union with God is life. Now this is a style of thought that makes a special appeal to Greek and Slav mind, and the consequence is, Russia and the Balkan States, including Greece, have been the special homes, almost the exclusive homes, of the Greek Orthodox Church to this day.

Second, there is the Latin type of Christianity. And in the Latin conception of redemption the emphasis is placed upon the contrast between sin and righteousness. Something must be *done* to purge a man of sin and to make him actually righteous. This is a style of thought that makes a special appeal to the Latin mind of the Romance peoples, and the consequence is, the countries of southern Europe have been the homes of the Roman Catholic Church to this day.

Third, there is the Teutonic, the Anglo-Saxon, the Protestant type of Christianity. This takes its beginning in the German Reformation of the sixteenth century. Here there is no effort to establish a new interpretation of Christianity, no effort to form a new type of Christian thought, but an effort simply and solely to go back beyond the Roman forms, back beyond the Greek speculations, back to the original essence of Christianity itself, back to Christ. Here the idea of redemption gathers about the Person of Christ. The hope of man's salvation rests solely upon the gracious will of God as revealed

in Christ, and not upon anything that man himself can do or think. With unswerving consistency Luther hammered to pieces the Roman conception of merit and with inexorable logic he pointed out that all human righteousness is incomplete. At every turn of the road he pointed men to the gracious will of God, of God who is greater than our heart because He *forgives* us our sins through the merit of Jesus Christ.

Now if we had time to make a close analysis of these three types we should find that Luther's understanding of the process of redemption, unlike the Greek and the Latin understandings, issues from the very heart of the Gospel and goes to the very heart of human nature. Yes, we have a religion that is not based upon a creed, nor upon a code, but upon a Person. In Lutheranism all the emphasis is placed upon the Person of Christ who is the object of our worship. In Lutheranism also we have the most complete regard for the personality of the worshipper, the most thorough appreciation of man as man. Now it is this very emphasis upon the principle of personality, the infinite value of the human soul, that lies at the basis of the universal character of Christianity itself. Hence, Lutheranism, although it was born on the genial soil of the deep German soul, nevertheless seems to reach the very heart of the Gospel of Jesus Christ and the very core of the theology of the Apostle Paul, and this was the only hope and claim of its founders. And for this very reason Lutheranism can never be the exclusive possession of any particular race or nation, but can be applied wherever there are human souls capable of worshipping God.

Well, if this be true, that the Reformation faith can be applied wherever there are human souls capable of worshipping God, what shall we say of its application to this country of ours which we love?

We Americans are a religious people,—comparatively speaking—and our national life and our national institutions have been profoundly influenced by religion. But if we examine the situation closely we are forced to conclude that the Lutheran faith with its two and a half million communicants and its five or six million adherents

in this country has not exerted an influence proportional to the numbers and the resources which it registers in this land. Now I am firmly convinced that the fault of this is not to be found in Lutheranism as a faith but in Lutherans as a class. Surely there is nothing in the nature of the Lutheran faith that conflicts with the national genius of Americans! I say, Lutheranism is just as well adapted to the Anglo-Saxon mind of Americans as any other faith is. Lutheranism is not too narrow for Americans: it is not a strait-jacket. Nor is it too broad for the Anglo-Saxon. I don't agree for a moment with the Swedish pastor who said that "the Lutheran faith is really too big for the practical superficial American mind to hold it." I don't believe a word of it. I believe that the Lutheran faith is so simple in its essence and so human in its appeal and in its implications, that *even* an American can be an elementary Lutheran at least.

If I had to believe that the American nation, this product of creation by amalgamation,—if I had to believe that the settling of the American continent with white men from the various countries of Europe had produced a nation that is essentially incapable of apprehending the evangelical Lutheran faith,—then I might indeed be compelled to believe, as some one has suggested, that the discovery of America was a mistake, that history went wrong when Columbus crossed the ocean, and that the opening of this western hemisphere as the abode of civilized man was nothing less than a calamity to civilization. But I don't believe either end of the proposition. I believe so firmly in the humanity of the typical American and in the divinity of the Christian Gospel that I am convinced they belong together. And it is the evangelical character of our faith that makes it especially applicable to American life. For ours is not a Swedish Lutheran Church, nor a German Lutheran Church, nor an English Lutheran Church, nor even an American Lutheran Church, but ours is the *Evangelical* Lutheran Church, the Gospel Lutheran Church. Therein lies the universal appeal of our faith.

What shall we say then of the message of the Lutheran Church to America? The universal appeal of the Lutheran faith, which I have tried to indicate to you, forces us to the conclusion that the Lutheran Church, so far from being seriously limited in her influence upon this nation, so far from being circumscribed and narrowed in her message to America, makes a special appeal to the American and has a distinctive message and mission to this country.

We are celebrating this year the 400th anniversary of the Reformation. Well, that was a magnificent drama of providence that was being enacted four centuries ago. And the event that marked the year 1517 as the beginning of the Reformation and the year 1917 as the quadricentennial year was the very climax of a drama the most sublime that has ever appeared upon the stage of history. That was a drama that challenges the admiration of the historian, compels the faith of the Christian, and inspires the abiding gratitude of the entire Protestant world. Many and varied were the changes that were coming over the mind and heart of man in those days as he expanded his knowledge of the face of the earth, as he multiplied his mastery of the forces of nature, and as he deepened his insight into the secret springs of religion. An amazing concert of movements it was that brought forth that far-reaching event which we celebrate this year. An amazing concert of movements with a marvelous unity of purpose was bringing forth the most momentous change that has ever taken place in all the history of Christianity. And in that grand symphony of movements Luther's revolt was *one* motive and the discovery of this western hemisphere was another motive in the *same* symphony. For when Martin Luther, son of Hans Luther, down in the heart of Germany, was but an enterprising lad approaching his ninth birthday, Christopher Columbus was crossing the ocean and chancing upon that happy accident which we call the discovery of America. Now do you stop to consider, when you think of the mission of our faith on this continent and the message of our Church to this country, do you stop to consider the significance

of the fact that at the very time that God was using Martin Luther and others to purge the Church of its crying abuses and to turn Christianity back to its original purity of faith, the same God was also using Christopher Columbus and others to spread the boundaries of the habitable earth and thus open up a continent where this new faith would some day number its adherents by the millions? Or do you refuse to see the hand of God in this conjunction of events? Are not the two facts related, the discovery of America and the Lutheran Reformation? They most certainly are related, not only in time, but also in purpose, not only in history but also in destiny. For I verily believe that the Lutheran faith whose origin we celebrate this year makes a special appeal to the heart and soul of the American and therefore has a distinctive mission to perform on this continent, both because of the ethnology of the American nation and because of the theology of the Lutheran faith.

This, then, I regard as the first and the more general aspect of our message to this country. The evangelical character of the Lutheran faith with its emphasis upon personality has a special adaptability to a democratic republic where a man is valued as a man and to a cosmopolitan nation which has created a unity of nationality out of a variety of European nations.

Now, in the second place and more specifically, let us inquire, What is the message of the Lutheran Church to America in view of the outstanding characteristics of American religious life?

Here be it observed, first of all in a negative way, that our message does not grow out of our numbers or our growth in times past or our present rate of increase. The facts in this particular are beautiful enough. We began in 1638 with 50 souls. One hundred years later, in 1738, we had 5000 members. After another hundred years, in 1838, we had 65,000 members. In the next ten years we more than doubled our numbers, so that by 1848 we had 135,000. Ten years later, in 1858, we had 200,000. After another decade, at the close of the Civil War, we had 350,000. Still another ten years passed and by the

Centennial Year we had 650,000 Lutherans in this country. Thirty years ago we numbered just one million members. Twenty years ago it was one million and a half. Ten years ago we had over a million and three-quarters. Five years ago we numbered two million, two hundred thousand; two years ago, over two millions and a quarter. Last year nearly two millions and a half. And this year doubtless over two millions and a half. Yes, the figures and statistics are beautiful enough. A faith that has added a million and a half members in thirty years and is now increasing at the rate of more than a million every ten years,—a Church that has had for many years the highest ratio of progress among all the large denominations in this country,—such a faith might be thought to have a fine lesson in figures to place before the country.

But there are other factors to consider besides these bald statistics. And after all, what do figures amount to? I have seen so many things "proved" by statistics,—things that I know to be untrue,—that I am ready now to join in the philosophy which says that there are three kinds of lies, white lies, black lies, and statistics. No, the figures do not determine the matter. The only strength of the Roman Catholic Church in this country is in her masses (and that too in more senses than one) and her influence upon our life and institutions has been out of all measure small as compared with her numbers in this country. Oh, no, the counting of noses does not determine the message of a Church, any more than the size of a man determines the time of his speech or the length of his hair determines the fullness of his thoughts. No, the message of a Church is a question of positive influence for righteousness, a matter of definite influence upon the life and thought of the nation.

Now the influence of the Lutheran faith upon the life of this nation and upon the institutions of American civilization has *not* been proportionate to her resources in numbers and in religious treasures. I hope you will not regard this as the statement of a pessimist. It is true, and I am not overlooking the fact, that the influence of

our faith has been considerable, much more than most people realize, in all five aspects of our national civilization, the religious, the political, the educational, the social, and the industrial. And it is hoped that this quadricentennial year will set forth in clear and unmistakable terms just what has been the influence of the Lutheran Church and the Lutheran faith in each of these spheres. But while we shall point with pride to the benign influence of our faith in times past, upon the Church, upon the Government, upon the School, upon the Family, and in Industry, must we not admit deep in our hearts that the great Lutheran Church with its two and a half million adherents, with all its treasures of doctrine and faith, ought to have exerted a far more profound influence than it has?

Unless I am greatly mistaken in my analysis of the life and thought of the American people they are predominantly Calvinistic, and their attitude towards God, and towards man, and towards the world, and towards the things in the world, is tremendously Calvinistic. The fruits of faith which the American people as a nation manifest most clearly are not the fruits of the Lutheran faith but the fruits of Calvinism. To show this in detail would be an interesting exercise but it would lead us too far afield. But I will say just this one thing: if any one of you will cross the ocean to the Lutheran countries of Europe and stay there long enough to actually live yourself into the Lutheranism of Sweden, or Norway, or Denmark, or Germany, so that you can look back upon your own country in the perspective of three thousand miles and *thus* view the life and conduct of the American people, it will be as clear to you as the light of day that this country is far more strongly under the influence of the Reformed Churches and the Reformed theology than it is under the influence of the Lutheran Church and the Lutheran theology. The Americans are a race of Marthas rather than a race of Marys. The race-mind of the average twentieth-century American shows very little effect of the influence of the Lutheran faith.

American religious life is characterized to-day by too much *doing* and too little *being*. This is the fruit of Calvinism. A very large part of our Christian population is in danger of forgetting that every Christian has two hands; the one is the hand of faith that goes *upward* and lays hold on God; the other is the hand of love that goes *outward* towards our fellowmen. I say the danger is that this plan of the divine economy will be lost out of sight. The great host of our fellow-Americans in the very name of religion are cutting off their religious supply and are extending *both* hands in love to fellow men. Now this looks lovely enough, but it simply resolves religion into ethics and morality and thus makes religion irreligious. And this in the end means that morality becomes immoral.

Look out over the religious life of our land. Go where you will: look at it from what point you please. It is the same story: The religious life of America is characterized by a constant tendency towards a keener ethical sensitiveness, an increasing emphasis upon the commonplace virtues, such as temperance, and sobriety, and chastity, and industry, and a sense of duty and obligation, and so on, yes, a keener ethical consciousness but a constant diminishing of devout sentiment and personal *religious* devotion. There can be no doubt about it: the Americans, more than any other people under the sun, attack their problems with high moral earnestness and with well-meant ethical considerations. But the trouble is that their moral earnestness is not always enlightened or praise-worthy. It is too often divorced from religious motivation, and thus in the end it vanishes or declines into actual immorality. That's why the religious history of our country has been so uneven in its course. That's why the religious history of our country is characterized by these sporadic spasms of public virtue which many good people mistake for waves of genuine religion. Friends, the religious life of our country is in danger of being dissolved into social and moral uplift, into recreation halls, reading-rooms, free lunches, gymnasiums, swimming-pools, sewing circles, suppers, and banquets,

and feeds, and open forums, and a hundred and one other things that are good enough and all right in themselves, but that are positively wrong and damnable when allowed to take the place of religion.

A few years ago the *Outlook* sent Doctor Abbott all over this country on a tour of personal observation of the religious life of the land. Upon his return from his trip abroad Dr. Abbott said: "I feel as if I have been observing phenomena not of religion but of sociology. If any generalization is justifiable from such evidence as I have gathered, it is that religion in America is characterized not so much by devoutness as by righteousness, less by the look upward than by the look outward."

In the sixteenth century Luther stormed and thundered against the current practice of interposing ceremonies between the individual and his God, and he insisted upon a restoration of vital and personal religion. To-day in America there is a loud call for the voice of a prophet with a very similar message. And I believe that that voice is to be found in the message of the *Lutheran Church to America*. In Luther's day in Germany it was a matter of protesting against *ceremonial* good works which has taken the place of genuine personal religion. In this quadricentennial year in America it is a matter of protesting against the *benevolent* good works that are taking the place of genuine personal religion. For the chief impediment at present to the growth of the devotional spirit in our country is not the commercial spirit of the day but the great increase in the practical activities of the Church *together* with the divorcement of those activities from the spirit of genuine personal religion. That is a thesis that I should be willing to defend by the hour. We need to get our nation back to the Word of God. We need less doing and more being. We need to prevent our religion from becoming a materialistic religion. Too many of our fellow countrymen stand on that low primitive stage of religious development where men seek the gifts of God rather than God himself. They need to be taught to "seek first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness." They need to be taught that the up-

ward look is always more important than the outward look.

Just that is the message of the Lutheran Church to America. It is a message of prophetism, a preachment of genuine vital religion of the heart.

Calvinism has shown itself incapable of meeting the need. Calvinism has stood in the very midst of the tremendous wealth and the immense material prosperity of our country. But Calvinism has been utterly powerless to tear off the materialistic clothing of our twentieth-century American civilization and to clothe it with vital religion. In fact there is a wide circle of scholarship that claims that Calvinism is actually responsible for the very essence of our materialism. Some of you have read Max Weber's remarkable monograph "Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism" in which with fine penetration he traces the spirit of modern American capitalism to the ethics of Calvinism. We cannot go into that now, although it would be interesting and bears directly upon our subject. But certain it is that there is a yawning gulf between the material prosperity of our country and the old-time Church with its spirit of devotion and its keen sense of personal religion. Calvinism had control of the field when that gulf began to open. She has stood by and has watched the gulf widen. And to-day she looks on powerless to bridge the chasm.

Now right here I am convinced the Lutheran Church has a distinct message to this country. Ours is not a mechanical theology but a vital theology. It is based upon a Person. It gathers about a Person. And it conserves the personality of the individual believer. It is calculated to draw men to God, *all men*. This vital quality in our theology produces a vital religion as distinct from a mechanical religion. The Lutheran type of piety is not based upon a Code, as are so many other forms of piety in our land, types that frame their religious life upon the answers to such questions as "What would Jesus Do?" and such pledges as "Trusting in the Lord Jesus Christ for strength, I promise Him that I will *do* whatever He would have me *do*," and a hundred

and one other precepts and formulas. No, the Lutheran type of piety binds the individual into close intimate personal fellowship and communion with God through faith in Jesus Christ, and the hand of love takes care of itself. Thus the *whole* life is sanctified and all of its activities are religious activities.

That is the message of the Reformation and it is the message of the Lutheran Church to America to-day: that God is the God of the whole world and every man, and that the whole world is God's world and every man is God's man. Now introduce that message into the religious life of our country and what will be the result? The result will be that the disintegrating influences in the religious life of our country will be overcome, a vitalizing element will have been introduced, our religious forces will be conserved, the religious life of our country will be prevented from vanishing into the thin air of sentimental emotionalism or the gaseous atmosphere of ethical culture or even into the attenuated mist of aesthetic attainment. The religious life of our country will be actually religified! The day of irreligious religion and of immoral ethics will pass. The whole life of man will be filled with the religious principle and every calling will be a sacred calling. In every phase of activity the upward look will be emphasized. And thus the gulf that now yawns between our temporal prosperity and true religion will be bridged.

Well, you ask, is it to be expected that the doctrinal systems of the other Churches must be changed and rewritten in terms of the Lutheran system? By no means. Just as long as we can continue our present relation between Church and State, the relation of friendly independence, just as long as there are many men of many minds, just so long will we have a variety of Churches. Just as long as men are permitted to exercise the right of private judgment and the application of human reason to the interpretation of the Scriptures, just so long will we have a variety of doctrinal systems. I do not expect that every whit of Christianity in America will some day be labelled "Lutheran," but I do expect that the Lutheran

Church will read the other Churches a message of vitalized religion and thus bring them all, each under her own banner, nearer to the great heart of God.

I do not expect that the social order will be revolutionized or that the diversity of the classes from the masses will ever cease. But I do know that it is possible for each man to learn to serve God where he is. It is possible for each man to read in the Church of the Reformation the message that God is in His world and that His kingdom is not a mere desmesne around the pulpit and "the family altar," but an all-inclusive empire, and the force of this impulse will be a mighty contribution to the new era of social and economic invigoration. The Lutheran Church will personalize the religion of every individual man and thus infuse new qualities into the social order.

It is even possible that the methods of other Churches will for the most part remain unchanged by the message and mission of the Lutheran Church. Although there are many indications even already that as other Churches are catching the spirit of the Lutheran Church they are copying also her methods. But the form is of little consequence compared with the content. And the message of the Lutheran Church to America is a message of content rather than form, of life rather than law, namely, a message of vitalized and personalized religion.

There is a loud call right now for the persistent application of strong doses of evangelical Christianity to the religious life of our country. Is there a flood of vice and crime pouring over our life? Yes, but that is not at the root of the trouble; that is only superficial. Is there a strong strain of materialism and scepticism in our public thought to-day? Yes, but *that* is only an effect; it is not the cause. No, the real danger is not that our national life will be poisoned by the death-dealing fumes of iniquity and vice, nor that it will be strangled by the stifling bonds of materialism and irreligion, but there is a real danger, and it's at the very heart of things,—a danger that our national life will be silently but insidiously asphyxiated by a thin gaseous form of religion and ethics,

the residue that is left after men have strained out the substantial truths of Christ's Gospel. The religious atmosphere of America needs oxygen. Our nation needs to be called back to the Word of God. Here is the mission of Lutheranism. If the happy-go-lucky superficiality of Americans in matters of faith is to be overcome at all, the Lutheran Church needs to impart to them something of the depth of her own robust faith. If the danger of religious asphyxiation is to be averted from our national life, we must infuse some of our own evangelical oxygen into the American atmosphere. Just that I believe is our message to our nation and our mission to our country. If Christopher Columbus was the discoverer of our country, and if George Washington was the father of our country, and if Abraham Lincoln was the savior of our country,—then I verily believe that the sanctifier of our country will some day be found either directly or indirectly, in the evangelical faith of Lutheranism with its universal appeal.

Gettysburg, Pa.

ARTICLE VI.

ANTICIPATIONS OF CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY IN
THE WRITINGS OF HEATHEN AND JEWISH
PHILOSOPHERS.

BY PROFESSOR J. M. HANTZ, D.D.

Eusebius, the Father of Ecclesiastical History, is also the author of another well-known work, the *Praeparatio Evangelica*, designed, as its title intimates, to prepare men's minds for the reception of the proper evidences of Christianity, by an examination of the various forms of religious belief current among heathen nations, or sanctioned by heathen philosophers, before the coming of Christ, and by a comparison of them with the doctrine and rites of the Jews founded upon the divine revelation of the Old Testament. He proposes, in this work and in its sequel, the *Demonstratio Evangelica*, to show that the Gentile Christians are justified both on the one hand, in departing from the superstitions of their forefathers to embrace a purer faith, and, on the other hand, in accepting the sacred books of the Jews, and confirming their belief by means of them; and yet, in interpreting those books otherwise than as they were interpreted by the Jews themselves. In his examination of the religious belief of the Greeks as compared with that of the Hebrews, which constitutes the principal portion of the former of these two works, Eusebius candidly acknowledges the difference between the absurd and impious fables of the popular mythology and the nobler and truer theology taught by some of the most distinguished philosophers, and specially by Plato; but he accounts for whatever is excellent in the latter by maintaining that it was borrowed from the sacred books of the Hebrews. (On this opinion as met by Eusebius, see a criticism in the *Literary Remains and Biography of H. F. Clinton*, p. 120).

A full century and more before Eusebius, another learned Father, Clement, of Alexandria, who may per-

haps be regarded as the first who directly attempted to connect Christian doctrine with philosophical principles, spoke, more directly and with a fuller acknowledgment of the value of the Greek Philosophy. "Before the coming of the Lord," he says, "philosophy was necessary to the Greeks for justification; now it is useful to piety, being a kind of preliminary exercise to those who obtain faith through demonstration." "We cannot err," he continues, "if we refer what is good, whether it be Greek or Christian, to Providence. For God is the cause of all that is good, sometimes immediately or principally, as of the Old and New Covenants; sometimes by consequence, as of philosophy. Perhaps it was given even immediately to the Greeks, before the Lord called them: it was to them a schoolmaster, as the Law to the Hebrews, to lead them to Christ. It is preparatory, opening the way to him who is afterwards perfected by Christ. (Clem. Alex. Strom. I. 5, p. 331. Potter Translated by Bp. Kaye, Clem. Alex. p. 116). This theory assuredly will find but little favor with any competent judge of evidence in the present day; and its general reception by the Christian Fathers is sometimes regarded as one of the most flagrant instances of their deficiency in critical acumen. Yet, however untenable the supposition may be, it is, to say the least, not more absurd in itself and not more destitute of any reasonable foundation than the counter theory which has been elaborated by the higher-critical ingenuity of some modern writers who have not scrupled to assert that nearly all the distinctive doctrines of the Christian Faith are due to the influence of Greek Philosophy upon the Jewish mind. The one is the honest, though ill-informed prejudice of men zealous with a mistaken zeal for the honor of divine revelation; the other is the less excusable perverseness of men of more enlightened age, determined, by all means and at all hazards, to wrest from the Christian faith every trace and vestige of its divine origin.

The interest which has been excited by recent discussions concerning the relation of Heathen and Jewish philosophy to Christian theology, and the erroneous views

which in some quarters have been propagated in connection with it, as regards the origin and character of the Christian religion, is one reason, though not the only one, which will, I trust, justify my selection of this subject as an appropriate introduction to and preparation for the study of ecclesiastical history. In truth, had no such discussions taken place, the subject itself is one of sufficient interest and importance to warrant us in regarding it, not indeed exactly in the sense intended by Eusebius, but in one not less real, though adapted to requirements of a later age, as a *Preparatio Evangelica*, as a preliminary study, important to the right appreciation of the character of the Christian Faith and of the Christian Church. For the history of the church is not solely or principally a narrative of events; however important the events may be which it is the duty of the Church historian to narrate, it is at least in an equal degree a history of men's thoughts and beliefs, an account of doctrine and development of doctrine, which, whether without or within the pale of the Catholic Communion, whether in the form of heresies perverting the doctrine of the Church or of confessions and controversies on the part of the Church herself which those heresies necessarily called forth, connects itself intimately with the contemporaneous course and previous history of philosophy, with the laws and tendencies of the human mind of which philosophy is the offspring, and with the traditional current of previous thoughts, by which those tendencies are modified and directed in each successive age. If the Church, in her growth and progress from generation to generation, touches on one side the civil history of empires and kingdoms, she touches no less on another side the intellectual history of schools and systems of thought. If the day when "there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed," commenced a new epoch in the annals of the world's empires, and marked the rise of a new kingdom, in the world though not of the world, henceforth to exist side by side with the newly-formed empire of the Caesars, growing with its growth, abiding through its decline and fall, waxing greater from its ruins, and moulding the na-

tionalities which sprang from them, a kingdom set up by the God of heaven to stand forever, when the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold were to be broken to pieces together, and become like the chaff of the summer threshing-floors,—no less distinctly was the day when the command was given, "Go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," to mark the introduction into the world of men's hearts and minds of a new rule of thought and belief, henceforth to move on side by side with every movement of human philosophy, at one time neglected and despised by it; at another, presented in its name; at another, resisting it to the death; at another, triumphing over it and moulding it to its will. And if it be true that, as regards the civil history of the world, the Son of God was manifested "in the fulness of the time," when the Jewish law and nation had fulfilled their purpose and were about to pass away; when the Roman dominion had reached a boundary beyond which it would bear no further enlargement," (Tacitus Ann. I, 11, Cf. Juliani Caesari Opera p. 326, C. Spanheim), and established an intercommunion between alien races and distant localities, by which, without or against the will of its rulers, the new faith was enabled to take root firmly and spread its branches widely; when the Greek language had established itself as a medium of intercourse among all the nations of the civilized world; when the institutions of society, powerless to renovate themselves, had sunk into that state of utter corruption in which neither the vices could be endured nor the remedies, and no help could be looked for, except from a special and divine interposition; it is no less true that the same need, and the same preparation for the consciousness and acknowledgment of that need, may be traced in gradual and progressive formation through the various evolutions and developments of human philosophy, as system follows system, and schools come forth in succession or antagonism to each other, bearing witness on the part of all alike to a common yearning and a common inability to satisfy it or even to give it definite utterance; till at last every possible com-

bination of philosophical principles and methods was exhausted, and human reason no less than human society, was taught by constant failures and utter despair, that its renovation must come from without and not from within, from God and not from man.

It has been a favorite topic among the opponents of revelation at various times, pre-eminently among the Deists of the last century, but in no small degree also among their successors in the present, to talk of a "Christianity as old as Creation," of an absolute or universal religion founded on the principles of human reason; of religious truth evolved from within, not revealed from without. In point of fact, however, this natural religion has never existed, except where Christianity has been before it; it has been constructed, not by the spontaneous efforts of reason unassisted by revelation, but by reason dividing revelation and throwing a portion of it away. What human reason under the light of modern civilization could have done had the Christian revelation never been given, is a question which it is impossible to answer, because Christianity actually has come, and has determined by its coming the whole subsequent course of human reason and modern civilization. The Divine elements, once infused into the current of human thought, can never afterwards be separated from it; it mingles with the very analysis by which the separation is attempted, no less than with the materials on which that analysis has to operate. The only true instances of the religion of nature and of natural theology are to be found in those modes of thought and belief which actually existed in the Gentile world before the coming of Christ, or which exist still in those regions in which the Christian Faith has not prevailed. In tracing the course of Greek Philosophy down to the time of the Christian era, we may see the utmost that ever was actually done, in a high state of civilization, by some of the grandest and most richly endowed intellects that have ever appeared among the sons of men, to lead men's minds to truth and their wills to virtue—in the state of belief and practice actually prevalent, we see the amount of success by which these efforts were at-

tended. The speculative side of this inquiry, which is that which I propose to pursue in the present inquiry, will exhibit to us a picture of Philosophy, in the hands of her greatest representatives, struggling to emancipate the religious ideas of a people from the degrading superstitions of the popular mythology; but it will also show us how the success of the effort in one direction was perpetually accompanied by a corresponding failure in another; how religious ideas, as they become more and more elevated in an intellectual point of view, lost in the same proportion their influence on the feelings; how worship and contemplation varied inversely with each other, the one decreasing as the other increased; how philosophy, in proportion as she shook off from herself the crude anthropomorphisms of a poetical theology, lost her hold at the same time on the idea of a Personal God, to rest upon an abstract First Principal or a pantheistic One and All, or a purposeless Chance, or an inexorable Fate; till a system is consciously and distinctly elaborated in which worship becomes an unmeaning pageant and prayer a vain delusion in which the free will of man can be vindicated only by the denial of divine Providence, and the assertion of a Providence must be made at the cost of man's moral responsibility. We shall see at the same time how that which is the basis of all religion, the consciousness of man's relation to God as a Person to a Person, vanishes by the destruction, not of one only but of both its constituent ideas; how after the personality of God is banished from philosophy, the personality of man cannot long remain behind it; but disappears under the image of a passing moment in the evolution of the universe, or a fortuitous concourse of material atoms. We shall have occasion also, in the course of this inquiry, to notice those apparent anticipations of some of the distinguishing doctrines of Christianity, which arose from the union between the Greek Philosophy and the Jewish Religion; and to examine the real value of the hypothesis which endeavors by means of them to find a merely human origin for the Christian Revelation. The result of the inquiry will, we believe, be to show that the position of Christi-

anity in the history of the human mind, as related to previous systems of thought and belief, is neither that of a violated and unconnected phenomenon, having no discernible relation to the previous records and efforts of the struggling soul, nor yet (far from it) that of a mere consummation of human philosophy, the last and highest results of a series of gradually advancing development of human reason; but rather that it is the divine answer to a human question, the divine satisfaction of a human want; that it interposes in the midst of the debate of contending schools and conflicting theories, as the Lord answered Job out of the whirlwind when his disputing friends had found no answer; and interposes moreover in the same spirit, revealing God and His good pleasure towards us sufficiently to save our souls if we will believe, but not to solve all doubts if we will dispute." (Sander-son's Works, I. p. 234).

There is no epoch in the history of philosophy more interesting in itself, or more important in its relation to the subsequent history of the Church and her teaching than that at which the Greek philosophy and the Hebrew revelation came in contact with each other at Alexandria under the Ptolemies. From that contact sprang a system of religious philosophy destined under Christian influences to leaven the history of the Church through successive generations both for evil and for good—in its misuse the fruitful parent of heresies; in its legitimate employment furnishing one of the most effective weapons for the overthrow of heresy and the defense of the truth. On the one side, its influence may be seen in the Alexandrian forms of Gnosticism, in Cerinthus, in Basilides, in Valentinus and his followers. (Cf. Neander Vol. II. pp. 42-107, ed. Bohn, Gieseler Vol. I. p. 134 *seq.*), and again in opposite forms in the Sabillian and Arian heresies; (Cf. Mosheim in Harrison's *Cudworth* Vol. II. pp. 320, 376, 410. Dr. Holmes in Kitto's *Cyclopaedia*, ed. Alexander, Vol. III. p. 516. Petavius *Dogm. Theol. De Trinitate*, I., 2:2); but on the other side, it passed into the teaching of the Church through Clement and Origen, and became in their hands an instrument for refuting the false gnosis by means of

the true; while in the next century, it contributed to furnish the armory from which Athanasius equipped himself for his conflict with Arianism. Leavening theological controversy, consciously or unconsciously, in periods and among nations most remote from each other, it may be traced in the argument by which Basil and the two Gregories and Chrysostom combatted the heresy of Eunomius, and in those by which Stillingfleet and Norris and Browne contended against the revival of Eunomianism in the *Christianity not Mysteriorious* of Toland. Outside the pale of the Church, it appears conspicuously in the Neo-Platonic philosophy, a system which, while professing to be a revival and development of the genuine teaching of Plato, bears unmistakable traces of having borrowed the principle of its interpretation from those Christian dogmas which it could only rival by plundering. But though the Alexandrian system, blending as it does, in union or in antagonism, the doctrine of revelation with the speculations of philosophy, constitutes the point from which we may most distinctly trace the combined influence of both elements upon theology within and without the Church, it is not in their state of fusion that the two elements can be clearly distinguished from each other, and the separate value of each properly estimated. To know what Philosophy can do for herself without enlightenment from Revelation, it will be necessary to pursue the stream of thought backward to its earlier and purely heathen sources, to note the course which it takes and the volume which it gathers while fed solely from the rill of human reason, ere its waters acquire a wider compass and a different hue from their confluence with those which come down to it from another fountain. It is with this object, that I propose, in a series of articles, to attempt a slight sketch of the course of Greek philosophy, from the time when it first distinctly assumes a theological character down to the time at which it comes in contact with the Scripture, first of the Old Testament and then of the New, in the Judaism of Alexandria and in the teaching of the Christian Church. Commencing with a subject with which my readers, I believe, will have more or less ac-

quaintance, I would hope to be enabled, without any abrupt transition to a new theme, to give a new interest in what I have hitherto attempted, in other articles, to teach in another aspect and from another point of view, to exhibit the Gentile philosophy in that feature which to us constitutes its chief claim on our attention, its relation to Him who is "the Desire of all nations"; to point out the successive steps taken by it for the accomplishment of that end which the Apostle, speaking in the headquarters of ancient philosophy, declared to be the purpose of God in assigning to the several nations of the earth their appointed times and the bounds of their habitation,—“that they should seek the Lord, if happily they might feel after Him and find Him.”

Such an inquiry, though not a part of ecclesiastical history, strictly so-called, may yet be regarded as an appropriate introduction to it. We may adopt with reference to it the title prefixed to his work by a distinguished German theologian, Ullman, who has traversed the same ground, Heathenism and Judaism—*A Porch to the History of Christianity*. “The History of Christianity,” as the same writer has observed, “necessarily presumes for the bare understanding of it, an acquaintance with the history of the Pagan and the Jew.” To understand that history, we must ask and answer the questions:—What soil did Christianity find to build on? To what doctrine and systems of thought could it attach itself? What circumstances paved the way for it, and forwarded and facilitated its expansion? What obstacles, prejudices and errors had it to overcome? What adversaries to encounter? What evils to remedy? How did Paganism react on Christianity? One portion at least of these important questions will furnish the principal subject of our present inquiry—namely: What was the soil on which Christianity had to build, what were the doctrines and systems of thought to which it could attach itself.

How such a Church as this at once One and Universal, ever became a reality, is the wonder of the world's history. The very idea bore the impress of more than human originality. All previous religions were opposed to

it; all previous aspirations after unity (if aspirations they can be called) had been shattered at the moment of their contact with the sober realities of life. No philosophy, however lofty, but dispersed into schools in the hands of its first disciples; no theosophy, however ethereal, but engendered in the minds of its votaries the restlessness of an ungoverned fancy. Sects, mysteries, philosophies, rose, sparkled and burst, like bubbles upon the stream of time. Nothing attained to permanence which was not rooted in the firm soil of nationality. Christianity, when it declared itself universal, defied the whole experience of mankind; and, historically speaking, the great marvel of Christianity is that it succeeded in providing an adequate ground-work for this universal cohesion.

It will be seen, in special instances in the history of Greek thought, how the loftiest and purest philosophy, not only dispersed into schools in the generation following its first teacher, but also how its original loftiness and purity, once lost, was never recovered; how its highest aspirations stand out in solitary grandeur, as the products of individual genius, powerless, whatever there might be in them of the true and beautiful, to attract the homage and command the assent of other seekers after truth. It will be seen how even such fundamental doctrines of natural religion as the possibility of God and the future life of man, doctrines which now seem as self-evident to man's natural reason, did not, as a matter of fact, form the basis of a common belief for any philosophical community, till enforced with divine authority in the teaching of the Church. If we should be permitted hereafter to pursue the same inquiry through later ages, when philosophy and Christian theology have come into contact with each other, and flow side by side, sometimes mingled, sometimes in separate currents, we shall find, if I mistake not, the same view confirmed by experience of another kind. Throughout this later history we shall find, I believe, on the one hand within the Church, a view of Catholic thought, even upon purely speculative questions, which, with freedom and difference upon matters of

detail, preserves yet a certain unity of method and principle, unknown to earlier speculations; and, on the other hand, in systems altogether separate from or opposed to the Church, the same marks of individuality and isolation, the same inability to serve and fix any permanent truth for the use of future generations, which characterizes the earlier course of pre-Christian inquiry. If a heathen philosophy, in the days when the light of heathen philosophy was at its zenith or but first beginning to descend from it, could enunciate as the characteristic of truth and error respectively, τὸ μὲν ἀμαρτάνειν πολλαχῶς ἐστίν, τὸ δὲ κατορθοῦν μοναχῶς, the principle, however, self-evident in the abstract, is one of which the whole range of heathen philosophy before the coming of Christ, and the whole range of un-Christian and anti-Christian philosophy since that epoch, may be challenged in vain to produce a single concrete application. In reading the history of successive systems, not each building securely upon the foundation of truth established by its predecessor, but each busied in removing some portion of that foundation, almost as soon as it is laid, in making some great truth as we now know it to be, just emerging for a moment from the troubled waves of conflicting thought, and overwhelmed the next moment beneath them, we are incessantly reminded of the poetic myth, in which Plato shadows forth the history and destiny of the human soul, following the track of the Gods as they guide their winged chariots under the vault of heaven, permitted at times, for a brief period, to lift its head above the summit of the vault, and to obtain a hurried and partial glimpse of the supercelestial region where truth has her dwelling; and then in the next revolution of the heavens, cast down with broken wings to earth, to feed on the unreal banquet of vain opinions. Yet if mere human genius could have founded an universal philosophy, where shall we find human genius more exalted, more entitled to claim authority over the thought of men than in the two great masters of Greek thought.

"Si Pergama dextra

Defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuissent."

If unity, grounded on truth could have been established by the highest powers or the most gigantic efforts of man's unassisted reason, never was philosophy more richly equipped for the attainment of it than that which numbered at the head of its thinkers a Plato and an Aristotle.

It was necessary that the gifts and powers of human intellect should be tried to the utmost and should fail in the trial, to show clearly that that which succeeded when they failed is of God and not of man. It was necessary that the edifices of human architecture should arise in all their beauty, to show what human skill can do, should crumble away, almost as soon as built, to show what human skill cannot do, in order that a site should be prepared for that "city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God." Ere we enter upon the history of that divinely-founded Society, which for nineteen centuries of its earthly existence has been bound together by the confession of one hope, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, it may be not without profit to trace for a short time the tangled paths of those who, amidst the distracting claims of God's many and Lords many, were painfully and darkly striving after that unity which their interests never ceased to yearn for, even while their understandings were bewildered in the unsuccessful search. It is a tortuous and disappointing course, turning back upon itself when nearest to the goal, and wandering further and further in darkness with each succeeding effort. Yet when man was at the farthest from God, God was bringing Himself nearest to man; the period of the greatest darkness of heathen philosophy, was that which immediately preceded the rising of the Sun of Righteousness; the time when the searchings of man's restless intellect seemed most hopeless and most remote from their object was that in which it was about to be proclaimed, "the kingdom of God cometh not with observation; neither shall they say, lo here, or lo there, for, behold, the kingdom of God is within you."

Alliance, Ohio.

ARTICLE VII.

CURRENT THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

BY PROFESSOR J. A. SINGMASTER, D.D.

The Rev. Frederick W. Palmer of Auburn, N. Y., writes of "Superfluous Churches" in *The Bibliotheca Sacra* (July). He illustrates his subject by quoting from the Census reports the following statistics in reference to churches in central New York. In the hamlet S. are a Methodist Church with 32 members, an Episcopal with 22, and a Unitarian with 17. The village of C. supports two Baptist and three Methodist churches with a total membership of 227. In the town of W. are three churches with a combined membership of 53. In 35 towns of adjoining counties there are 52 churches with not over 50 communicants each.

Mr. Palmer gives three reasons which justify the existence of a Church with less than 100 members: (1) When situated in a sparsely settled region and ministering to those otherwise without adequate privileges. (2) When there is a constituency of differing antecedents or language, e. g., Roman Catholic, Friends, or Foreigners. (3) When an already existing Church cannot furnish religious privileges to the surrounding Christian public because of offensively peculiar usages and tenets or its unwelcome attitude toward outsiders.

The author finds that ordinarily two self-supporting Churches in a fairly populous community, say of about 2,500, accomplish more than one. In a group of counties studied the members of the two Churches constituted 22.3 per cent. of the population, while of the one only 8.4 per cent.

The burden of proof for the establishing of a new Church must rest upon it. The official leaders of the denominations should repress the establishment of needless Churches. In 1914 the Presbyterian Synod of New York expressed its disapproval of the appropriating of Home

Mission Funds for the support of a Church in a community of 500 or fewer persons where there exists another Church of an evangelical body, recognized by the Federal Council, better fitted to minister to the spiritual needs of the community, except in the case of missions among foreign-speaking or other exceptional groups of people.

"The Church and the Alien" is aptly presented by Bishop Cooke, in the *Methodist Review* (July-August). We quote as follows:

In these United States there are about eight million Germans. Omitting all aliens who may be propagandists of foreign intrigue and diplomacy, and those who by attempting to divide opinion in this country come perilously near being guilty of treason, the sane, panic-proof people of the United States, and certainly millions of people in all our churches, will not be so utterly lost to reason as to imagine that these millions of Germans, Austrians, and Bulgarians—these our German brothers in our churches and annual conferences—are responsible for the acts of the German Government. Nor will they assume without evidence that these Germans and others are in full sympathy with the atrocities committed on land and sea which excite the moral execration of the world, however much they may be excused under the pitiable plea of military necessity, an excuse which would justify every crime under heaven. To excuse is to condemn! Our German citizens are not responsible for the acts nor for the methods nor the arguments of the German Government; and no one has the right to create suspicion of his neighbors, to surround them with an atmosphere of disloyalty, injuring them in their business and daily toil, isolating them in social intercourse, and thus not only persecute cruelly innocent people, people who love our institutions and the starry flag which is their children's flag, but also create a state of wild, unreasoning ferment of fear and race hatred throughout the whole land. The one imperative need in this country to-day is unity—one people, one government, one language, one flag, one destiny!

Nor can we say with any knowledge of the secret ways

of governments that even all the people of Germany are responsible for or indorse the acts or the Schrecklichkeit method of the German Government. The attacks of the Socialists in the Reichstag on the policy of Prussia are sufficient evidence that those acts and policies are not universally indorsed. The conflict over methods between the partisans of the Imperial Chancellor Bethman-Hollweg and those of Tirpitz is evidence that in the government itself there is wide difference of opinion. The people are no more directly responsible for this war than they were for the attack on Austria in 1866, nor for the Franco-German War in 1870. It was not the people who forged the Ems telegram which precipitated that war. Responsible writers and public speakers, if they knew history, will draw wide distinction between the people and the government of the people. This war is not a people's war, however the government and its press may make the people think it is. Nor is it wholly the immediate product of Pan-German dreams of state philosophers, of military camarillas, political cliques, economic leaders, and university professors.

But no matter. For the sake of peace in our own country during this national emergency the diplomatic squabbles of the old world are not to be fought out here. This is not Europe. This is America. If suspicion and distrust against English and French and Germans, Bulgars, Poles, Italians, Belgians, or others are engendered among us, our mines and factories and workshops, whole neighborhoods of divers nationalities in all our large cities and even small communities in the far West will be torn and rent in partisan strife. Here, then, above all else, is the opportunity of the Church. The Church can now do a work which will make it easier for her to evangelize the foreign element when the war is over. For hatred between men, let her substitute forbearance and love; for suspicion, brotherly trust; for enmity and revenge among neighbors, Christian kindness and magnanimity. The Church of the Crucified whose Golgotha today is the world—I am writing this on Friday—is the reconciler of humanity. The Christian man will serve

his Lord and his country best by showing a Christian spirit toward foreign-speaking peoples and aliens. Jesus calls us to the higher patriotism, the patriotism of the kingdom of God. Millions of our foreigners in our crowded cities are yet to be evangelized. We dare not alienate them now and try to win them later. Let us be wise. If the Church of God in America fails to act toward all men of every race and color and tongue in the light of eternity, then the Church as an organized institution of religion will not only have failed to serve the nation in its hour of need, it will also have failed our Lord Himself and lost its chance with the aliens when the war is over.

"Why Send Missionaries to the Heathen?" is the question asked and answered by the Rev. Edward N. Harris, a Foreign Missionary, in *The Bibliotheca Sacra* (July). He concludes as follows:

To return to the question with which I began this article, I have pointed out the utter hopelessness and inadequacy of Buddhism,—and by inference of every other heathen religion,—as a means of salvation. I have shown that although it has a profound sense of condemnation, its conception of sin is shallow and its code of morals perverted. I have given reasons for believing,—and this is a conviction which I am confident would be confirmed by intelligent and reflective converts from Buddhism,—that its direction is away from God rather than towards God; that so far from its being an attempt to see the source of all light and truth, it is a carefully constructed scheme to get away from the light and blind the eye against it. The heathen do not desire to know God. They wish rather to keep away from him and obliterate from their minds the consciousness of His presence. This is the true philosophy of their religions, and in their heart of hearts they know it. The old missionary incentive is still in place. We need to send the gospel to the heathen in order that they may be saved.

The objection is sometimes made that by sending missionaries to the heathen we are taking away their own

faiths and too often putting nothing in their stead. I think I have made it sufficiently clear that these various systems of religion ought not to be called faiths, for they are systems not so much of belief as of unbelief. But even if they are conceded to be faiths of a kind, I have this to say, that, in so far as supplanting old faiths without putting a new faith in their stead is concerned, in my opinion others are more responsible for this than are the missionaries. In Burma and India, at least, I think that much more is being done along this line by British officials and European tradespeople than by the missionaries, for no one can be without an influence of one kind or another; and, while the influence of these people is not for the most part in favor of Christianity, oftentimes being quite the contrary, yet it does tend powerfully to the disintegration, in some respects at least, of the ancient systems of the people of those lands. Missionaries do not as a rule supplant ancient beliefs except as they introduce far better beliefs in their place. But in so far as the work of the missionaries does tend to do this, I think it will be admitted, in view of what I stated regarding the origin and nature of heathen religions, that even so the heathen is better off; for without any system, without any religion to keep him from God, he is placed in a position where he is more open to the truth.

In closing, I may say that, if now we turn to the converts from heathenism and ask for their testimony, with one acclaim they will answer, "Why send the gospel to the heathen? Because it has saved us. It has lifted us up out of a horrible pit, out of the miry clay, and it has put a new song into our mouths, even praise unto our God."

Prof. Wm. J. Hinke of Auburn Seminary writes very discriminately on "The Protestant Reformation" in *The Reformed Church Review* (July).

From this central principle the priesthood of all believers of the Reformation all the other positions of the Reformers become at once obvious and follow by necessity. The most important of these is the conception of the Holy Scriptures as the ultimate source of authority in religion.

This conception is often presented in such a way as to rob it of its religious meaning. It is said that the Reformers substituted for the infallible Church an infallible Book. And it is implied that the same kind of infallibility was transferred to the Book, which was thought to belong to the Church. Such a statement overlooks however two important facts. First that neither the term "Scriptures" nor the term "Infallibility" had the same meaning among Protestants and Catholics.

As to the Scriptures it should be noted that the Catholic Church includes in the Canon all the books known as apocryphal, rejected by Protestants and that it regards as the authoritative form the Latin translation as adopted by the Church while the Protestants go back to the original texts. More important than this external difference was one that had reference to the contents of Scripture.

To the Catholic theologians the Scriptures were a collection of fragmentary texts, without any inherent unity. The Bible was to them a sort of storehouse, in which were kept doctrinal truths and rules for moral conduct. In order to get unity into this collection the Church adopted the dogmatic tradition, which it had developed and placed alongside the Scriptures and treated as an equal source of authority with Scriptures. Moreover, since certain parts of Scripture, as genealogical lists and simple historic narratives, could not easily be turned into doctrinal truths or moral lessons, a fourfold sense of Scripture was adopted, literal, allegorical, moral and anagogic, by which any text could be made to say most anything that was desired. Finally, faith, according to the mediaeval theologians, was not trust in a person, but assent to correct propositions about God, man and human destiny, and the saving character of the assent depended upon the correctness of the propositions assented to. The Church through its theologians, confirmed by Councils, guaranteed the infallibility of the propositions deduced from the Scriptures regarding God and Man. If such is the conception of the Scriptures and such the conception of faith, the answer which John Nathan, Luther's teacher, gave to him at one time becomes perfectly natural and intelligi-

ble. He said to his perplexed pupil at one time: "Brother Martin, let the Bible alone; read the old teachers; reading the Bible simply breeds unrest." Thus there was placed between the inquiring soul of man and God, who revealed Himself in the Bible, the interpretation of the Church which barred the way to the heart and mind of God.

The attitude of the Reformers towards the Scriptures was totally different. To them God was speaking in the Bible as one speaks to his fellowmen. The Scriptures were to them the record and the pictures of blessed spiritual experiences of the past, such as they themselves had experienced in their own lives. Hence they were so eager to translate the Bible into the language of the common people, in order that they might know the way of salvation and reproduce in their own lives the same experience of communion and fellowship with God.

This change of view regarding the Scriptures was so radical that it may well be called a rediscovery of the Scriptures. The Reformers were led to it by their conception of faith. It was, as we have seen, a personal trust in a personal God, who has manifested Himself in the life and work of His Son. This made the Word of God to them a personal, not a dogmatic revelation. There was on the one hand the loving Father, pouring out all the treasures of his life in the life of His Son; and on the other hand there was the soul of man, looking through all the works and words recorded to God Himself. Hence, to them the chief function of the Scriptures was to bring Christ to men and as Jesus is the full revelation of God, the chief end of the Bible must be to bring God near to every believer. It is a direct message of love to man's soul. Not a system of doctrine as much a promise of God's nearness and interest in man's welfare. To the Reformers the recognition of the authoritative character of Scripture was not dependent upon the sanction of the Church, given to the Canon, but upon the Spirit of God, operating in man. Just as God makes us realize and feel the sense of pardon by an inward experience of faith, so the Spirit of God enables believers to recognize that God

speaks to us authoritatively through the words of Scripture. Thus the authority of Scripture is not an external creed, but an internal experience. The Christian recognizes Scripture as authoritative because through it he feels God speaking to him. It may be not with equal clearness and distinctness in every part. In the book of Psalms more clearly than in Chronicles, in the words of Christ more clearly than in the Acts of the Apostles, but all through it is God in history and human experience, as God works and operates on the reader's heart.

In the same review is found an article on "The Reformed Church in the U. S.," from the pen of Dr. William C. Schaffer. We quote the following interesting paragraphs:

Faith in Jesus Christ, as Lord and Saviour, is the cardinal doctrine of the Reformed Church in the United States. Her characteristic confession comes nearer to the primitive creed of the Apostolic Church, which, as is well known, was simply, "Jesus is Lord" (Rom. 10:9, Phil. 2:11), than is generally known. What she demands of her people is loyalty to Jesus; and she is willing to fellowship with all who prove that loyalty by a life of holiness and service. To all who prove their loyalty in this way, she is willing to grant large freedom of thought in all earnest search after the truth. And she invites to her communion table, not simply the members of her own communion, irrespective of congregational connection, and not simply members of other Protestant denominations, but all persons in good and regular standing in any churches that believe in Jesus Christ and accept him as Lord and Saviour.

All this, of course, does not mean that the Reformed Church in the United States does not have her own peculiar type of doctrine, or that she is indifferent to it. Her Catechism is openly and frankly Calvinistic. It teaches the sovereignty of God and the dependence and sinfulness of man. She has her mode of baptism, but she does not make it a *sine qua non* of church membership. She has her views of the presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper

and of the efficacy of the sacraments; but she does not insist on the acceptance of these as a condition for the admission of the individual to the Holy Communion. She has her own well defined views on the divinity of her Lord, and she diligently teaches these to her people and to the children in her catechetical classes; but she does not set up a metaphysical standard even here, which a man must apprehend and accept, before she will assure him of salvation. All she insists on is that a man shall believe in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, accept Him as Lord and Saviour, and yield to Him loyal obedience and loving service; and she is willing to welcome him to her membership and admit him to her communion. Or as stated above, the three things on which she insists are the acknowledgment of the sinfulness of man, faith in Jesus as Lord and Saviour, and cheerful obedience and loving service in His kingdom.

The Princeton Theological Review (July), contains an able defense of "The Reasonableness of Vicarious Atonement" by Prof. Wm. Brenton Greene, Jr., of Princeton. The following is an abstract from his article:

The present war is often referred to as the illustration and the proof of the failure of Christian Ethics. Were the latter not powerless, it would at least have ameliorated the horrors of the war, if it could not have prevented them. This powerlessness, we are further told, is not due to any defect in Christian Ethics itself, but to "the outworn dogmas" with which it is associated. Among these archaic and paralyzing dogmas the one to which exception is taken most frequently and most strenuously is "the absurd and revolting dogma of Vicarious Atonement"; and because both of its importance in the Christian system and of its "irrational and monstrous" character, it is widely held responsible for the alleged powerlessness of Christian Ethics. However good in itself the latter may be, it must fail with such an incubus around its neck.

It is the aim, therefore, of this paper, first, to show what is meant by vicariousness, especially in relation to

the doctrine of atonement; secondly, to establish that nature is a cosmos or system of reason; thirdly, to prove that vicariousness enters into the warp and woof of nature and, therefore, cannot be unreasonable; and, fourthly, to point out its essential reasonableness. Thus we should demonstrate, not only that the doctrine of vicarious atonement is not an incubus to Christian Ethics, but that it is precisely from "this monstrous dogma of the vicarious sacrifice of the Son of God" that Christian Ethics draws its power. It is the constraining love of such that is, a vicarious, Saviour that is the secret of the Christian life.

1. What, then, is vicariousness?—It consists in acting or in experiencing for another or for others. "The degree to which this is done may vary all the way from substitution in the most exhaustive sense, as when one literally, whether by choice or by compulsion, consciously or unconsciously, takes the place of another, for good or evil, to mere representativeness; as when one represents another and decides for him, and even to action in another's account yet not in any manner of substitution or representativeness." Practically there is no difficulty in recognizing the thing even in its faintest expression. Such is vicariousness in general.

2. Nature is a cosmos or system of reason. We do not hold with the idealist that it is only a system of thought-relations, but we do hold with the idealist that it is a system of thought-relations. The proof of this is that we can grow in the understanding of it and are reducing it to science. We can classify its facts. We can describe its processes. To a limited extent we can predict its future. That we do not have wider and more exact knowledge of it, we feel to be due, not to any lack of correspondence between it and our reason, but to want of capacity on our part. It is adapted to the categories of our understanding, but they are not big enough and delicate enough to comprehend and appreciate it. Hence, when we confront mystery in the constitution and course of the world, as we all do all the time and more and more, we never give over trying to resolve the mystery. We never

suppose that it could not be assimilated with what we know and be explained by it, if only we knew enough; but we believe, and we cannot help believing, that if we knew enough, we should find nature in all its parts the expression of reason. We do not need to become Hegelians to discover the world to be such at bottom that we study it and enjoy it and live in it as we do.

3. Vicariousness enters into the warp and woof of nature. Society depends for its existence on vicariousness. It is because of, and largely as it was determined by, the preceding state of society. Men act for those, and to this extent in the place of those, who shall come after them; and this is the more significant because they do it unintentionally and often unconsciously. They cannot help doing it. Here is the truth in the doctrine of evolution. What is cannot but be conditioned by what was, and in so far forth at least it is evolved out of it. African society is totally different from what it would have been, had it grown out of the society of mediaeval Europe. Thus no age can live to itself. Each age acts, though without appreciating it, for all that follow; and they prosper or suffer accordingly. This is vicariousness. It is one taking the place of others in the sense of acting for them.

Vicariousness appears more strikingly in the family. Parents act vicariously for their children; and they do so, whether they mean to or not. As the family is constituted, it could not be otherwise. The god father's good name must become the heritage of his children. Drunken parents must entail their enfeebled constitution and their tendency to vice on their offspring. Heredity is one of the best established and most strongly emphasized facts of modern science, and heredity is the scientific name for vicariousness. Nature declares as plainly and forcibly as Scripture does that "God visits the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, upon the third and upon the fourth generation of them that hate Him, and shows loving kindness unto a thousand generations of them that love Him and keep His commandments." (Ex. xx:5, 6).

Vicariousness is seen in the nation. This has a life of

its own distinct from that of the race or of the family or of the individual. Hence, it has a unity of its own. A national sentiment is formed. National characteristics appear. There is a national conscience which can be appealed to and which sometimes acts vigorously. Now in this great form of society, the nation, representation, and in so far forth vicariousness, prevails. The men of one time in this national life act for those of another to all intents as if they stood in their place. They determine for them nationally. Their counsels, their actions, often their sufferings, are in large part for those who shall come after them.

4. The reasonableness of this "outworn" doctrine, and especially its singularly high ethical character and tendency, appear in the following particulars:

(1). It is a possible doctrine. That is penalty or reward can be transferred from one person to another consistently with justice. This does not mean that moral character can be so transferred. There is no more self-evident truth than that virtue and vice are personal and only personal. Neither is, or can be, vicarious. Morally, a young man is what he himself is, not what his father is. The latter may be the most pious man that ever lived; but while the tendency of this should be to make the son pious, and while it will inure to his advantage in other ways, it will not be in any sense his piety. The father will wish that it should be, but he cannot have it so. No one can be virtuous with the virtue of another. This is just as true in our relation to God.

"The Progress of Federation" by Dr. Charles S. Macfarland is presented in *The American Journal of Theology* (July). He says in part:

At the special meeting of the Council at Washington, President Henry Churchill King expressed the belief that the Council had been born for just such a national hour as this. Previous to this the chaplains in the army and navy have been appointed rather indiscriminately, often through political channels, and without very much concern on the part of the churches. Now the Secretaries of

War and the Navy have at their hand in Washington a body representing all the churches with which they can deal. When the missionaries in Japan have occasion to plead their cause before the American churches, they have a body to whom they can come. When the Red Cross needs the service of Christian people, the organization turns instinctively to the Federal Council. The Protestant churches of war-stricken Europe find an open door to American Christianity. The persecuted Jews can here seek consideration for their wrongs. The religious census department finds it necessary to keep in constant communication with the Washington office of the Council. The social workers, the officers of the organization for war relief, and similar toilers in the world's work are our daily visitors.

Progress, to be sure, is not necessarily indicated by statistics, and yet, perhaps, they indicate something. Four years ago the quadrennial reports constituted one moderate volume; the reports of the quadrennium just closed constitute six rather voluminous books.

Especially since the beginning of the war the relationships between the churches of America and Europe have deepened, and it is interesting to note that invitations have come to the Federal Council from Holland and France to send messengers and counselors to help the Protestant churches of these countries toward more intimate co-operative organization and action.

The Review and Expositor (July) contains an article on "Dante" by Dr. Stalker of Aberdeen, Scotland. He gives good advice on how to read this illustrious author.

In reading the Divine Comedy a beginner finds many impediments. The architectural plan of the different places is not easy to master, especially of the Inferno; and one is confused with the various means by which the pilgrim is conveyed from one point to another. Then, there is a profusion of allegory and this, which pleased the mind of our ancestors, as we see, for example, in our own Spenser, is to the modern man a weariness of the flesh. Lastly, the reference to the history of the Middle Ages,

and especially to the history of the Italian cities and states, would require for their complete elucidation an extent and minuteness of knowledge not possessed by one in ten thousand even of the educated. But the best way is to pay no attention to these difficulties, but read on. Imperceptibly they disappear, and one acquires such familiarity with the whole as enables one to perceive which things ought to be mastered at whatever cost and which can be neglected without loss. To students of Church History the historical difficulties gradually clear up. Indeed, there is no better preparation for reading Dante than the study of Church History, and, on the other hand, there is nothing which sheds on Church History a more fascinating light than the *Divine Comedy*. In its cantos the principal figures with which the students in a Church History class must be making acquaintance appear in poetical illumination—Constantine, Justinian, Charlemagne, Frederick I, Frederick II, Gregory the Great, Innocent III, Boniface VIII, Benedict of Nursia, St. Bernard, St. Domenic, St. Francis of Assisi, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, Anselm, Albertus Magnus, Bonaventura, Thomas Aquinas and many more. Although Dante may be called the herald of the Renaissance, his is still more truly the mind in which the Middle Ages are summed up; indeed, the entire history of Christendom, in both its beliefs and practices, down to his time, is reflected in the magic mirror of his genius.

America is deeply interested in Japan. *The International Review of Missions* prints an article on "Recent movements in Japaneses Thought," by Prof. Masumi Hino. He gives us a view of the situation as follows:

The individual has come to the front more than the State in comparison of values; feeling is more highly estimated than either intellect or will. Thus at last the feeling of pleasure and pain in the widest sense has come to be regarded as the supreme court where life's deepest issues are to be judged and evaluated, and whence the sense of value itself and significance of this life and of society are to be derived, for it is, after all, the sentiment

man and woman susceptible to joy and sorrow who can appreciate worth of any kind whatever.

Such is the psychology of a large majority of Japanese young people at present, so far as I can judge. However true the above argument may be, judgment based on feeling alone is the most fleeting phenomenon in our mental processes, and highly susceptible to change. "Love is blind." In like manner all emotions are to a large extent blind. No universal standard or criterion can be found among the various forms of emotion which would be definite and constant enough to guide one's decision at a critical moment. The sense of duty has been weakened to a marked degree among young people. Righteousness and honesty do not seem at present to evoke reverential feelings from the hearts of this generation. The foundation of ethics is shaken. Moral principles have been by some pronounced as rules invented by ancient people with a view to promote their interest or the interest of their own State.

This critical momentum, in which the young people of Japan are deeply immersed, has been observed by some of the leading public men with grave apprehension. Men of insight and love of country are seriously considering the problem with a desire to save Japan from the moral and spiritual peril that seems to be impending. A man like Tokonami, former Vice-minister of Home Affairs, openly declared that Japan could only be saved from the moral catastrophe if ministers of various religions co-operated with more activity than has hitherto been the case. He finally persuaded Mr. Hara, for Minister of Home Affairs, to summon representatives of Buddhism, Shinto and Christianity to hold a meeting in the capital on the 25th of February, 1912. Japanese people realize now the urgent need of religion far more deeply than they did at the end of the nineteenth century. The whole country is open to various modes of Christian instruction. Preaching now wins amazingly quick response. The number of Protestants has more than doubled in the past fifteen years. Japan now furnishes a fruitful soil, and

the laborers are indeed scarce. We must work hard and no doubt the harvest will be great.

An article on "The National Spirit and the Indian Church" in the same review by Herbert Anderson, concludes as follows:

In conclusion, how helpful is the thought that Christ, the head of the Church, is the perfecter of His own great purposes in and for His Church. For what reason He has permitted this long delay and why the chariot wheels of reunion are dragging so heavily on the sands of the western world, we know not. But this we surely know, that He desires His Church in India to be a visible organization and fellowship, with faith as its foundation and holiness of life as its shining characteristic. The challenge of the hour to missions is to foster the growth of unity in the Indian Church, everywhere to walk in the spirit of love and mutual confidence, and to cultivate an even deeper faith and joyous hope in Him and in one another. And when the Indian Church is united, strong to suffer, patient to endure, and powerful to work, no greater glory could missions desire than that to them Christ had given some humble part in accomplishing this service for Him.

"Oriental Students in North America" are described in the same review by Charles Dubois Hurrey. We quote something pertaining to their "Dangers."

The dangers which confront the foreign student are not less numerous than the opportunities. Being an object of curiosity in many institutions he must constantly battle against subtle pride or conceit which result from receiving too much attention; if accompanied by others of his nationality he is in danger of becoming clannish and of lapsing into the use of his native language, manners and customs to the exclusion of other interesting companions. To form a snap judgment or hasty opinion based on superficial observation is one of the real dangers of the foreign student; upon seeing one hypocritical Christian he is tempted to discount the sufficiency of Christ. Not many students from abroad suffer a physi-

cal or moral breakdown, but the possibility of such disaster is greater than with others, because they do not readily participate in athletic games. They have to study very hard and they are far removed from home restraints; hence they must constantly be on their guard against the formation of destructive habits practiced by thoughtless American youth. Another real danger is the gaining of a mass of book knowledge and theories but little if any practical experience in the application of such knowledge; upon returning home, therefore, they discover that they are of little use in the old surroundings, and their condition is doubly precarious if they have lost sympathy with the vital needs of their people. Many a returned student has failed because he desired an easy job and all the comforts and luxuries which he enjoyed in America. As might be expected, a few foreign students squander their time and money, and occasionally one who left home a professing Christian denies the faith, becomes cynical and, chiefly on account of the inconsistency and neglect of nominal Christian people, degenerates into an intellectulally trained enemy of the cause of Christ.

Gettysburg, Pa.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

ARTICLE VIII.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS. NEW YORK.

Christian Nurture. By Horace Bushnell. New and Revised Edition. Biographical Sketch by Prof. Williston Walker, and Revision by Prof. Luther A. Weigle, both of Yale University. Cloth. Pp. xxx. 351. Price \$1.50 net.

The first edition of *Christian Nurture* appeared about seventy years ago. It was republished in enlarged form several times later. The standard edition was copyrighted in 1888, which is substantially reproduced in the present edition. The revision consists in the omission of a few brief passages of a controversial nature. An analytical table of Contents covering fourteen pages, is new, and useful in the absence of an index. It must have been a congenial task for Dr. Weigle, reared in a Lutheran parsonage and himself a Lutheran minister, to edit this book. And it is not accidental that he should have been chosen as the Horace Bushnell Professor of Christian Nurture in Yale University, for his training in the teachings and traditions of the Lutheran Church and his own writings fitted him for the place of which he will, no doubt, prove himself worthy.

Christian Nurture was an era-making book and did much to correct the false views of family religion which had been fostered by the revivalism rampant in Bushnell's day. Apart from its genesis, *Christian Nurture* was and will remain a most useful book. It is not merely negative in combatting error but positively constructive. Its arguments for infant baptism and the training of children are fresh and powerful, because they are so closely related to life, and in accord with reason and the Bible.

We strongly urge our pastors to secure this book for their own use and to commend it to their people. There is in it the inspiration of dozens of sermons for the pastor. Dr. Bushnell has the right philosophy of family life. The persistent presentation of the subject-matter of this volume will result in an almost ideal congregation.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

THE METHODIST CONCERN. NEW YORK.

James Monroe Buckley. By George Preston Mains. Cloth. Pp. 305. Price \$1.50.

Dr. Mains has rendered a useful service, not only to the Methodist but to all churches, by preparing a sympathetic biography of one of the leading preachers and journalists of America during the last generation. From 1880 to 1912 as editor of *The Christian Advocate*, the oldest weekly publication of the Methodist Episcopal Church, he exercised a most potent influence in the affairs of his Church. For many years he was the leading figure at the meetings of the great General Conference. As a preacher and debater he has had few equals. He has been a prolific and racy writer. In the promotion of benevolent enterprises, and in advocacy of truth and right, Dr. Buckley has been a recognized power.

Dr. Buckley comes from good English stock. His father came to America in 1827 and was married to a very remarkable woman, Abby Lonsdale, in 1835. Dr. Buckley was born in 1836 and is still in good health at eighty. In youth he was handicapped by a weak constitution, and a poor health record in the family. By heroic persistence he overcame his physical weakness and accomplished a prodigious amount of work.

We commend his biography especially to students and young ministers for its stimulating power. The latter may learn much from the experience of this prince of preachers, not simply as to his methods but also as to the content of his preaching which was always in harmony with the Scriptures and the accepted faith of the Church.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

The Cyclopedia of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals (1917 Edition). By Deets Pickett, Editor. Cloth. 4½ x 8¼. Pp. 406. Price by mail 55 cents.

This is a pocket cyclopaedia of the subjects mentioned in the title, carefully collated by the competent editor and his staff. Its range is wide, covering all phases of the subjects, reaching out to all lands and giving most valuable information in brief compass. The index contains about four hundred references to the contents of the book. Every reader of the *QUARTERLY* should secure a copy.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

A Prophet of the Spirit: A Sketch of the Character and Work of Jeremiah. By Lindsay B. Longacre, Professor of Old Testament Literature and Religion, Iliff School of Theology, Denver, Colo. 12mo. Pp. 128. 75 cents.

Although Jeremiah is the prophet of the spiritual life and of individual religion and the most popular prophet with the Jews, he has not been the best-known of the prophets to readers of the English Bible. Interpretations such as this one, however, are doing much to bring "the weeping prophet" back to his place of supremacy. Both the prophet and his message have a special meaning for Lutherans, and a new appreciation of Jeremiah would be a worthy fruit of our quadricentennial celebration of the Reformation.

HERBERT C. ALLEMAN.

Bring Him to Me; or The Sufficient Remedy. By Charles Nelson Pace. 16mo. Cloth. 72 pages. Price 50 cents net.

The argument in this booklet is based on the incident of the healing of the lunatic boy at the foot of the mount of transfiguration. It of course gets its title from the same story, from the words of Jesus to the father, "Bring him unto me." In the opening chapter reference is made to Raphael's picture of the Transfiguration found in the Vatican at Rome. The author then uses the lunatic child as a type of "the bad man" of to-day, the man possessed by the devil of sin, overcome by its power, "The measure of any religion is what it can do with a bad man. . . . The bad man is here. He is the problem of the police, of our courts, of all society. . . . Let us gather around him and study his case. It is our problem. He has been brought to our attention and consideration. Like those disciples of old in the group at the base of the mountain, we are alone with the task. How can we help him? What can we do?"

Various agencies are then represented as proposing a remedy, such as "The Arm of the Law," "Corrective Surgery," "Social Efficiency," "Eugenics and Euthenics." All of these fail, as a matter of course, just as the disciples failed with the poor afflicted child. Then comes the Church with its message of hope and salvation, and points the sinner to Him who says, "Bring him to me," and who alone is "mighty to save." It is a wholesome and help-

ful discussion of the problem, and deserves wide reading in these days when so many are disposed to look to man-made remedies for sin and for the ills of society, instead of to the gospel plan of salvation provided by God Himself.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

THE MACMILLAN CO. NEW YORK.

Religion in a World at War. By George Hodges, Dean of the Episcopal Theological Seminary, Cambridge, Mass. Cloth. Pp. 103. Price \$1.00.

Dr. Hodges has the happy faculty of expressing great thoughts in simple language. He shows the true position of the Church in the present war. The topics discussed are: "In the Storm of War," "Easter in a World at War," "Memorial Day in a World at War," "All Saints' Day in a World at War," "God and the World's Pain," "Pain and the World's Progress," "The Everlasting Vitality of the Christian Religion." These topics are based on Scripture texts and their discussion is very practical. The author sensibly recognizes the justification of some wars and sees in the present world conflict the hand of God, who will overrule its horrors for the advancement of His kingdom.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

Saint Paul the Hero. By Rufus M. Jones, Author of "The Inner Life," etc. 12mo. Pp. 172. Price \$1.00.

Doctor Jones has put into form and language suited to boys and girls in their teens the life of the Apostle Paul. He follows the Biblical narrative closely and finds in the wonderful narrative itself sufficient material without adding imaginary incidents or details. The book should be used not only by children but by teachers who need continuous and interesting presentation of the life of Saint Paul. There are a number of beautiful illustrations and two maps.

E. S. L.

THE LUTHERAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY. PHILADELPHIA, PA.

The Singing Weaver and Other Stories. By Julius and Margaret Seebach. Cloth, 7½ x 5 inches. Pp. 288. Price \$1.00.

There are eight stories in this volume; "Hero Tales of the Reformation," they are called in a sub-title. They

are all very interesting and splendidly told, and they are all true stories, or at least based on actual historical incidents. There is only enough of fiction and invention to round out the pictures and make them complete. They are charming pictures, all of them, and will prove a distinct and valuable addition to the literature of this quadricentennial year.

In a Reformation address before the recent General Synod in Chicago, Dr. L. C. Manges, of Harrisburg, spoke of "The Voices in the Chorus." By these "Voices" he meant the multitude of unnamed and unknown preachers and teachers of the truth by whom the Reformation was spread abroad through Germany, and even into other lands, and without whose faithful and tireless labors the great work of Luther and the other leaders in the Reformation must have been largely in vain.

This book of stories is intended to perform a similar service for the many faithful men and women, and even children, who in more humble stations and ways also helped on the good work. As the authors say in the "Foreword": "Much of the best fighting in that great struggle for faith and freedom, which we call the Reformation, was done by those who in war would be known as 'non-combatants'—the children, the women, the aged men—who in their homes, on the streets, in prison or at the stake, witnessed for the pure gospel truth. The tales that follow are true stories of such helpers of the Reformation, mostly feeble and obscure, but good and valiant heroes nevertheless; of whom we seldom hear, but whose names, and many such, the dear Lord has written in His book of remembrance."

The volume has a beautiful and artistic illuminated title page by Jessie Gillespie. The printing is of high grade, and the binding permits the book to open fully at any page without strain. It ought to be in every Sunday School library, and we could hardly imagine a more suitable Christmas gift for boys and girls.

The volume is dedicated to John A. Himes, Litt.D., for many years professor of English in Pennsylvania College at Gettysburg, Pa., the father of Mrs. Seebach and the honored teacher of both her and her husband when students in the college.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

LUTHERAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY. PHILADELPHIA.

A Booklet of Teaching Drills for Sunday School and Home. A Compilation by H. C. Haithcox, D.D. 16mo. Bound in paper. Pp. 27. Price 10 cents net per single copy. Per dozen 75 cents.

The material in this booklet is arranged in the form of questions and answers. It is divided into 34 lessons or "drills." It is intended, so the preface says, especially for the use of parents in the home, or for teachers in the Sunday School. It seems to be admirably adapted to this purpose. It strikes us that it might also be found very helpful to pastors for use in a Junior Catechism class. The lessons are short, but with additional free questions and explanations, and a thorough drill so as to fix the answers in the minds of the pupils, it would be easy to spend half an hour or more on each lesson. It covers the fundamentals in Christian faith and worship and life in a very simple and helpful way. Its use would be a fine preparation for the Small Catechism of Luther, our standard text-book for use in the instruction of the young. One of the blank pages in front is given up to a neat Baptism Certificate, and a like page at the end to a Confirmation Certificate.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

AUGUSTANA BOOK CONCERN. ROCK ISLAND, ILL.

The Gracious Water of Life. Words of Counsel to the Parents of Newly Baptized Children. By Rev. Ira O. Nothstein, A.M. 16mo. Pp. 48. Price in art cover 25 cents net; in silk cloth 50 cents net.

A Cradle Roll Manual for Sunday Schools. By Rev. C. A. Lund. 12mo. Pp. 63. Price in art cover 35 cents net; in ooze sheep 75 cents net.

Both these attractive booklets have to do with the children. The first one, as indicated in the title, deals with the child's baptism, and is intended especially to instruct and quicken the parents in the discharge of their duties towards their children who have been "presented to God in Holy Baptism." It is beautifully illustrated, and is provided with blank forms for a Certificate of Baptism, and also "Cradle Roll Certificate." It has a special page also for the "Baby's Picture." It is thus not only a suit-

able manual to be placed in the hands of parents at the time of the baptism of their children, but when the proper blanks are filled it will become a suggestive and treasured souvenir to be preserved by the child in after years.

The second booklet is intended for the instruction and guidance of those who have charge of the "Cradle Roll," which is now a prominent feature of nearly all progressive Sunday Schools. It deals with such topics as the purpose of the Cradle Roll, the baptism of the children, the Cradle Roll Superintendent, the securing of members, the keeping of the records, the many things that may be done to keep up the interest of the parents and eventually to bring the growing child into the Sunday School and to keep it there. It is also beautifully illustrated with pictures relating to child life, and the child's relation to the Church and to Christ.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

WARTBURG PUBLISHING HOUSE. CHICAGO.

"He Whom Thou Lovest is Sick." Admonition and Comfort for the Sick and Suffering. Compiled by Edward Staudermann, Ev. Luth. Pastor. 16mo. Pp. 80. Flexible cloth. Price 35 cents, postpaid.

As indicated by the title this little manual is intended to carry instruction, comfort and help to the chamber of sickness and affliction. It may be used by pastors in their visits to the afflicted. It seems to be especially adapted to be left in the hands of the sick for use in their private devotions, and meditation. It is made up of very brief selections of suitable Scriptural passages, usually only one or two verses, each being followed by a few lines from some familiar hymn or other sacred verse. These are arranged under suitable topics, and each topic closes with an appropriate prayer.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

THE S. S. SCRANTON COMPANY. HARTFORD, CONN.

A History of the Reformation. By Elias B. Sanford, D.D. 8vo. Pp. xiii + 287. Price \$1.50 net.

Dr. Sanford, the author of this volume, is "Honorary Secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America." This fact has probably had much to do with the preparation of the volume itself. It brought

him into close touch with the several leading Protestant denominations and naturally stimulated the desire to trace their development from a common source, and their inner spiritual connection. It is in this spirit that the volume is written, and he closes with this devout expression of his faith and hope: "Above the tumult of strifes that so often, in centuries past, have divided the Church, of which Christ is the Head, may we not hope and believe that this Twentieth Century of the Christian era shall rejoice in the answer to our Savior's prayer as He entered the path that led through Gethsemane to the Cross—and then to the morning of the Resurrection and the Day of Pentecost—"that they may all be one; even as thou Father art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be in us; that the world may believe that thou didst send me.'"

There is no pretense of great learning or originality in this history of the Reformation. The author has not gone back to the original sources, neither does he claim to have made any important additions to our knowledge of either the Reformers or of their work. But he has made excellent use of the available materials and has given us an interesting and helpful presentation of the main facts. His style is clear and convincing. His material is well organized and his facts are well arranged. He shows a fine sense of proportion, a well balanced judgment, and a clear insight, all of which are most essential to the true historian.

The discussion is divided into two parts. Part I deals with the Forerunners of the Reformation, to whom five chapters are devoted, and with Luther and the Reformation in Germany, which subject occupies the remaining eleven chapters of this part. Part II, which consists of ten chapters, deals with the Reformation in England, Scotland, Switzerland, France, and the Netherlands.

We can heartily recommend this volume to those who want a brief and reliable history of the whole Reformation movement either for their own reading or to place in the hands of a friend. We know of nothing better.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

FUNK AND WAGNALLS COMPANY.

"The New Archeological Discoveries: And their Bearing Upon the New Testament and Upon the Life and Times of the Primitive Church," by Camden M. Coburn, D.D., Litt.D., James M. Thoburn Chair of Eng-

lish Bible and Philosophy of Religion, Allegheny College; Honorary Secretary for Pennsylvania and Member of the General Executive Committee (American Branch) of the Egypt Exploration Fund, etc., etc. Introduction by Edouard Naville, D.C.L., LL.D., Foreign Associate of the Institute de France; Professor of Archeology in the University of Geneva, Switzerland. 8vo. Cloth, illustrated. Price \$3.00 net; by mail \$3.16. Funk & Wagnalls Company, Publishers, New York.

No one discovery in a thousand years has meant so much for Biblical scholarship as that of Grenfell and Hunt when, in 1897, they excavated for the Egypt Exploration Fund the now famous site Behnesa, the ancient Oxyrhynchus, situated in the Nile valley some 120 miles south of Cairo, and discovered great quantities of Greek papyri. These papyri were shipped to London literally by the ton. The first official report of them lists some 1300 documents. The first volume contained 158 texts, dating from 200 B. C. to 600 A. D., and comprising new MSS. with new and important readings in a large number of Greek classics. A large number were private letters. A considerable number were Bible texts, dating a hundred years earlier than any known texts of the New Testament, some "sayings of our Lord," with some Christian letters and certificates. Similar finds, on a much smaller scale, had been made in Egypt since 1877. Two years before this date Dr. Adolf Deissmann had made his great discovery that these papyri were written in the very language of the New Testament and drawn his inference that New Testament Greek could not any longer be regarded as an esoteric language, that the gospels were "people's books," written in the dialect of the middle classes in the vernacular of the home and the shop, the *κοινή* of the day. This dialect had spread throughout a considerable part of Egypt, as the papyri testify.

In 1909 the late Dr. Gregory, of Leipzig, catalogued the MSS. of the New Testament in existence and listed some 35 or 40 fragments, 16 or 17 of which had been recovered within twenty years. Kenyon and Milligan (1913) add eight more to this list. Prof. Coburn adds about a dozen more. These, together with the famous Free MSS. recovered in 1916, constitute the apparatus for the new study of our New Testament which has revolutionized our study of that book. These papyri show that the New

Testament was not the sacred book of a chosen people, not a book written for the priests or the learned, but a people's book, in the people's language. The language in which it was written was the language in which the Gospel was preached, that popular Greek dialect which after the conquest of Alexander had spread over West Asia and particularly Egypt where it became the idiomatic tongue of common speech.

The clue to New Testament interpretation, therefore, is idiomatic speech. Of the 5,000 words in the Greek New Testament, 3,000 are found in the classic Attic writers, but the remainder are almost all taken from the Koine or popular language of the first century. This study shows that Paul did not forge new words for his teaching, or invent new expressions; he used those with which his contemporaries were familiar, giving them a Christian sense; for instance, the titles by which the emperor was addressed are the words applied to God Himself, or to Jesus Christ. Following Deissmann, Prof. Coburn shows in a very interesting way, that the title "Lord" given to Jesus was used in a sense that could not be misunderstood. Since the title "Lord" could only be used after Caesar had been acknowledged as God, and implied, therefore, that the emperor had been deified, the term *Κύριος Ἰησοῦς* (Lord Jesus) was a distinct ascription of deity to Christ.

It has been the author's purpose to make his work a "corpus" of all the more fascinating facts and all the interesting and beautiful sayings that have come down to us from these opulent centuries. Prof. Coburn draws some interesting parallels between ancient and modern life. As if to prove that there is nothing new under the sun he shows how the suffragists won woman's rights B. C. 425; how the third century millionaires evaded inheritance taxes; the price of pork and beans under imperial Rome; how, even in Cleopatra's time, the domestics insisted upon their "days off"; shorthand and rhetoric were popular studies in the Apostolic era; even "Preparedness" was a first century slogan.

HERBERT C. ALLEMAN.

FLEMING H. REVELL CO. NEW YORK.

What the World Owes Luther. By Junius B. Remensnyder, D.D., LL.D.

Dr. Remensnyder has written in less than a hundred pages a fine appreciation of Luther, which the busy man

will welcome not simply for its brevity but also for its comprehensiveness and vividness. The great hero is introduced to the reader in a sketch of his early years and struggles, from which he emerges the many-sided man, whom history recognizes as the creator of a distinct era. The unique personality of Luther is faithfully portrayed in the author's own words and in striking quotations from many illustrious admirers. The indebtedness of the present age to Luther for deliverance from errors and for the genesis of modern life is convincingly presented. The book is a fine specimen of the printer's and binder's art at a nominal price.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE. ST. LOUIS, MO.

Liturgy and Agenda (of the Missouri Synod). Pp. 494.

Octavo of 6 by 9. American Morocco, flexible, gilt over red-stained edges, overlapping divinity circuit covers. Price \$4.00, postpaid.

This "Liturgy and Agenda" has been matured by the English Synod of Missouri, once an independent body within the Synodical Conference, now a district of the Missouri Synod.

We can best give an impression of the volume by acquainting the reader with the forms contained therein.

There are, first, two forms for the morning service. The music for the parts to be sung, (embracing the Nicene and the Apostles' Creed) is found in an appendix to the book. The first form is that of the Common Service. The second belongs to an altogether different order of liturgies. Here confession and absolution comes *after* the sermon, absolution in the declarative form of the "Confessional or Preparatory Service, ("in the stead and by command of my Lord Jesus Christ I forgive you all your sins.") The Communion Service is given in connection with the first form, which is throughout like that of the Common Service, except that the form of distribution reads: "This is the *true* Body," etc. This form (*der wahre Leib*) came into use in Germany as a protest against the *Agenda* of the Prussian Union. It is observed everywhere among the German Lutherans of our country, the Germans of the General Synod included. The Common Service in English has here simply followed Luther (*hoc est corpus meum*).

The forms for Evening Service and Matins are those

of the Common Service. The form for the "Confessional or Preparatory Service" is exceptionally brief and with regard to impressiveness cannot be compared with the same form in the Common Service.

The volume is very rich in prayers for many purposes. There are "Special Intercessions and Thanksgivings": for women after childbirth, for the churching of women, for catechumens, communicants, persons betrothed, for the sick; prayers also at the announcement of a death, during a vacancy in a church, in time of dearth and famine, in time of unseasonable weather, of pestilence, of great disaster, in times of insurrection and tumult, in time of war, and of peace restored. Among the prayers at festivals and special occasions we mention some that strike us as specially new and practical: at the festival of church dedication, for parochial schools, a minister's jubilee, a teacher's jubilee, jubilee of a congregation, anniversary of confirmation, of young people's society, ladies' aid society, charities, home-finding societies, home for the aged, hospital, graduation of nurses, home for the feeble-minded.

In the Agenda is a form for Baptism *without sponsors*, for the reception of converts, for announcement of excommunication and restoration. We find a prayer for the dedication of a parsonage, of a parish house, even of a dwelling house.

There are in the liturgical part of the book 28 brief prayers for evening services and other occasions, with the diversity of objects indicated by superscriptions: for success of the Word, repentance and improvement, help to overcome the world, for a holy life, and so forth. These prayers are beautiful in form and thought and with respect to length very practical for the purpose mentioned. The English is throughout fluent and too long sentences have been avoided. The Missouri Synod is to be congratulated on this fine guide for its English services.

J. L. NEVE.

Second Volume of Dr. Walther's Letters ("Briefe von C. F. W. Walther.") By L. Fuerbringer. Pp. 236. Price \$1.00 postpaid.

We reviewed the first volume of these letters in the American Lutheran Survey. The Missouri Synod of today bears the stamp of Walther. This volume shows, more than the first, Walther's influence upon his synod. The letters of special interest for the historian are those

referring to or discussing the Buffalo Synod, the colloquy with the Iowa Synod. Walther also expresses himself on the question of loaning money on interest, to which he was opposed, and he gives advice on numerous questions of discipline. He expresses himself as opposed to a pledge with regard to temperance, for the reason that it would be equal to a declaration that the Baptismal vow and the power given through Baptism are of less value than the pledge. This volume contains very hard judgments against the leaders of the German Iowa Synod. Something remarkable about Walther is the intense cordiality in writing to his friends. This is one secret of his influence over men.

J. L. NEVE.

JOINT LUTHERAN COMMITTEE ON CELEBRATION OF THE
QUADRICENTENNIAL OF THE REFORMATION. PHILA., PA.

Protest and Progress in the XVIth Century. By Carolus P. Harry, Reading, Pa. Cloth. Pp. 162.

This is in every way an excellent, practical summary of the Reformation story. It was prepared particularly for groups of Sunday School teachers, mission study-classes and the like; and it serves this purpose admirably. At the close of each chapter is a series of questions covering its contents. The book is well printed and finely illustrated. The title is not quite definite enough. Moreover the title should always be printed on the back of the cover, so that it will appear when the book stands on the shelf.

We commend Mr. Harry's book to pastor and people.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

AUGSBURG PUBLICATION HOUSE. MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

The Spirit of American Lutheranism and Other Essays.

By Charles O. Solberg, D.D., of the Department of Religion, St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota. Cloth. Pp. 218. Price \$1.00 net.

These essays by Professor Solberg show a fine appreciation of the history, genius and future of the Lutheran Church in America. They deal with the doctrines and practical affairs of the Church, such as the doctrine of the Word, of the Lord's Supper and of the Confessions, as well as of Luther's Relation to Modern Theological

Thought, of the Lutheran Type of Preaching, of the Language Situation and of Religious Education.

The impression made on the reader is that if the Lutheran Church be true to its best traditions and faithful to its great opportunities, it will render a vast service to the present disturbed age of the world, and continue to justify its existence as a part of the Church of the living Christ.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA CO. OBERLIN, OHIO.

Story of My Life and Work. By G. Frederick Wright, D.D., LL.D., F.G.S.A. Cloth. Pp. xvi 459. Price \$2.00 postpaid.

This autobiography of Dr. Wright is of more than ordinary interest. It is a well told story by a modest and most distinguished scholar, who has spent sixty years in the active service of the Church and her schools. He was born at Whitehall, N. Y., Jan. 22, 1838, and is hale in his eightieth year. The reminiscences of his childhood and youth are most charming. His struggles for an education were somewhat arduous and their recital would be wholesome reading for ambitious young men. He has been an extensive traveler, visiting every part of the northern hemisphere, chiefly in the interest of science. He has made a profound study of glacial phenomena, and is the leading living authority on that subject. He has written numerous volumes and many articles for various scientific and religious magazines, especially for the *Bibliotheca Sacra* with which he has been associated for forty years and of which he has been the editor for thirty.

His faith is that of a conservative, orthodox Christian, and he has always been a champion of Christianity. His studies in the Book and in Nature have confirmed his belief in the existence and goodness of God. The concluding chapter of the autobiography is headed "My Creed," in which he summarizes his views, which I venture to condense still further. He believes that he exists as a rational, sentient being, under obligation to shape his conduct with reference "to the highest good of being." The primal self-existent, eternal reality "is spiritual and personal, rather than material and impersonal." God the Creator has established a system of secondary causes, material and spiritual. "The doctrine of Monism and of the immanence of God as set forth by its extreme advo-

cates overlooks the plainest facts of existence." In the beginning God created the elements out of which have evolved, under his direction, the heavens and the earth. How these things were done is a mystery of science and of theology. Life came into the world as a new creation, and that there was an orderly progress from lower to higher forms. There is no proof that this progress has been due wholly to the inherent forces of nature. "Whatever may be true about some organic connection between man and some unknown species of anthropoid ape, man with his present physical and spiritual characteristics appeared suddenly on the earth, at no very distant period, as geologists count time." The Glacial epoch, which extended down to historical times, has had a most marked influence on nature and man, and confirms the story of the flood and of dispersion of the human race. Man, with all his splendid reasoning powers, needs a revelation from God for his guidance and satisfaction. This revelation God has given in the Bible. Care must be exercised in the interpretation of miracles, "lest we burden ourselves with unnecessary and harmful incongruities." The New Testament is the genuine and authoritative record "of the facts concerning Christ's life and the doctrines which are logically connected with that life." The truths of Christianity and the unity of the Church are best promoted by adhering to the early creeds, especially the Nicene. As God raised up "judges in Israel" so he will again raise up leaders to defend the old faith. In due time scientists and theologians will come to an agreement as to "well-established truths pertaining to both the material and spiritual world."

J. A. SINGMASTER.

WARTBURG PUBLISHING HOUSE. CHICAGO, ILL.

Thirty-five Years of Luther Research. By J. M. Reu, D.D., Professor of Wartburg Seminary, Dubuque, Ia. Twenty-seven illustrations. Cloth. Price \$1.00 net.

These essays by Dr. Reu give a comprehensive survey of the vast work done in the field of Luther research since 1883. We have here not a mere bibliography, but a fine analysis of Luther literature treating of the various periods of the Reformer's life and teachings. No one who wishes to study Luther seriously and to write about him can afford to ignore this book. Dr. Reu's learned investigations enhance rather than dim the lustre of the

great Reformer. Luther has been tried in the furnace of criticism and comes out like the gold that has passed through the refiner's fire. After four centuries he is still the modern man, whom the world will not forget.

We regret to have to say that Dr. Reu's translators have not done justice to the original. While the English is generally readable and fair, it sometimes fails to convey a clear meaning. To illustrate: here is a passage taken at random. "One cannot well differentiate between Luther's residence on the Wartburg and his attitude towards the Scriptures. Not, indeed, because Luther here learned to look upon the Scriptures in a new relation, so that not until now they become for him the only source of religious knowledge. This proposition already crumbles into dust in view of the sources that were generally available prior to 1883, and to maintain it now is to become guilty of an historical falsification for the sake of one's construction. Undritz already wrote a splendid article," &c. This is simply German "tumbled over" into English, showing a painful lack of a clear knowledge of the significance of words and of the art of composition.

We are not hypercritical; and it is only for the sake of the fine work that is being done in German by our brethren, especially in the West, that we call attention to the inadequate translations in which it too often is doomed to appear. Would it not be well for translators, who have been reared in a German or Scandinavian atmosphere, to submit their translations to the revision of a competent English-American scholar?

LUTHERAN BOOK CONCERN. COLUMBUS, OHIO

The Pope's Catechism, or The Teachings of Roman Catholicism Made Plain for Protestants. By Rev. J. Sheatsley. Cloth. Pp. 188. Price 75 cents postpaid.

This book will be welcomed by all our readers who desire to have a simple statement of the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church. The catechism from which the author quotes is known as "Deharhe's Large Catechism, Translated by a Father of the Society of Jesus of the Province of Missouri, from the German Edition prepared for the United States, with the approval and co-operation of the author and approved by His Grace, the Most Rev. Archbishop of St. Louis."

Here will be found the same teaching which called for the Reformation and which Luther denounced 400 years

ago. The primacy and the infallibility of the Pope are asserted, and the doctrine of indulgences is boldly taught. To the question "From what source do indulgences draw their power and efficacy?" the answer is given, "From the treasury of the abundant merits of Jesus Christ and of the saints." "Tradition" is put on a par with the Scriptures. "A Christian must believe all that God has revealed and the Catholic Church teaches, whether it is contained in Holy Scripture or not." It is taught that Christ instituted seven sacraments. In the sacrament of Penance the sinner may obtain remission of "the temporal punishment due to his sins." He, however, should even exceed the penance assigned by the Confessor for "we should try to satisfy the Divine Justice by other voluntary works of penance, and by patience in our sufferings." Transubstantiation is plainly taught; and the merit of good works done in a state of grace, it is said, reaches even to "eternal salvation." Prayers to Saints and the angels, and for the dead are commanded.

To those who have believed that the Roman Catholic Church to-day is not that of the Middle Ages, the present volume will be a revelation. It ought to find a place in every minister's library and in that of all intelligent laymen.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

THE ABINGDON PRESS. 150 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY.

Religious Education and Democracy. By Benjamin S. Winchester. 8vo. Pp. 293. Cloth binding. Price \$1.50 net.

Dr. Winchester, the author of this fine volume, is a professor in the Department of Religious Education in the Yale University School of Religion. He is also Chairman of the Commission on Religious Education of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. It was in the latter capacity, as he tells us in the preface, that he prepared for his Commission a "Survey of Week-day Religious Education." His book is a further revision and development of this work. It consists of two parts, the first part being historical and theoretical, the second part practical.

The motive which prompted the author in the preparation of his book may be inferred from the opening paragraph of the Preface: "The present world situation compels a serious re-examination of the foundations of de-

mocracy. Especially does it necessitate a consideration of educational processes and materials. In the haste to achieve efficiency may it not be that some indispensable values have been sacrificed? The words of Jesus sound again with a new emphasis: "What shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" The same applies to a nation as well as to the individual. "Has democracy failed?" men are asking to-day. Has Christianity failed? These have not failed, but, as one recent writer has said, they have been found difficult and have not yet been fairly tried."

The author's conception of democracy, and of its relation to and dependence on religion, is very well set forth in another paragraph from Chapter XII of the first part, on "The Community Task of the Churches," which we also quote. "A world crisis is upon us, in which the interests of all humanity are involved. These interests are summed up in the word democracy, and democracy is the modern expression of the spirit of Jesus. The purpose of Jesus was to secure for all men the fullness of life; life for the individual in which his consciousness of God should be complete, his access to God immediate, his attitude toward God filial, his communion with God unbroken; and a common life pervaded by the sense of interdependence and brotherhood. The ideal of democracy is self-realization through self-sacrifice, the finding of the individual self through its submergence in the larger social self. Democracy involves the harmonizing of antagonistic forces within the individual to seek selfish advantage at the expense of his fellows, and the higher impulses which urge him to seek the common good. Democracy is a resultant of forces essentially religious and spiritual; it is the product of Christian faith."

His estimate of the present world-situation as to religious education is summarized thus: "In Germany religious education lags far behind the rest of education. In France religious education is supplied by the Roman Catholic Church, is unco-ordinate with the state system of education, is undemocratic in spirit, while the state system of moral education is bereft of its religious sanctions. The result is artificiality in moral instruction, superficiality and formalism in religion, and mutual distrust between Church and State. In England, the connection between Church and State has greatly retarded the progress of education in general, and recent development of state education has been attended by bitter controversy between the religious forces.

"In the United States, where democracy and education both had their beginnings in the Puritan commonwealth, the Protestant churches have relinquished entirely all connection with the state system of popular education. In both State and Church the *rights* of the individual have been emphasized out of all proportion to his *duties* to society. One result of this emphasis has been a serious weakening of Protestant influence and ineffectiveness of religious instruction. To-day, in the United States, less time is devoted to religious instruction provided by Protestants than is allotted to such instruction in any other first-class civilized country in the world."

We take the space for one more quotation embodying the author's appeal to the Protestant churches of America to measure up to the opportunity and responsibility which the present world crisis is pressing upon them.

"The spirit of democracy is astir in the world as never before. Ancient limitations and restraints are being cast aside, dynasties and autocracies overthrown. The way is opening for a new world in which social justice and co-operation and brotherhood shall take the place of individualism and self-seeking and exploitation. But the new world will demand a new spirit, the spirit of self-control, idealism, responsibility, and service. It is this new power which society must somehow develop through religion and education working hand in hand.

"The Protestant churches of America must not fail the cause of democracy in this hour of the world's history. Upon them rests, primarily, as we have seen, the responsibility for taking the initiative in this great task. The task is difficult, because it is so nearly new. But the churches will not hesitate on this account. They will not be so unpatriotic as to ignore their country's need, nor so selfish as to think mainly of their own denominational up-building or of merely national prestige. It is an hour of supreme opportunity for the churches to render a world service."

These extracts will give the general standpoint and spirit of the author. Among the more important subjects discussed in the first part of the volume are the relation between compulsory education and religious freedom; the essentials of democracy; typical systems of state education, including those of Germany, France, and England; the American public school system in its relation to the churches and democracy, to which an entire chapter is devoted; the development of the work of the Sunday School in the Protestant churches; etc. A very

interesting chapter is the one in which are presented "Some Recent Experiments in Religious Education." These include what are known as the North Dakota plan, the Colorado plan, the Lakewood, Ohio, plan, and the Gary plan.

Part Two is devoted to "Suggested Plans and Programs of Week-day Religious Instruction." Here are outlined the complete curricula for religious instruction in Germany, France, England, Australia, and Canada. Chapter II gives the curricula and syllabi followed in North Dakota, in Colorado, and by the several denominations co-operating with the schools in Gary, Indiana. Another chapter deals with the Parochial school systems of several of the denominations, including the Lutherans. Another chapter is devoted to suggestions for community and church co-operation in the smaller towns, etc.

At the close of the volume there is a very full bibliography, classified according to the chapter headings, and also an excellent index. Altogether, this is a very valuable contribution to a study and solution of one of the most vital problems of the day. Democracy will be safe and a blessing only in the proportion in which it is based on a pure and high morality, and there can be and will be no such morality without the teaching and sanctions of religion. Hence the necessity of teaching religion which is the peculiar province of the churches, and in a democracy like ours can be done only by the churches.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

Missionary Education in Home and School. By Ralph E. Diffendorfer. 12mo. 407 pages Cloth. Price \$1.50 net.

This is a convincing and compelling book. No one should read it who does not want to become interested in missions and missionary work. It should be read by everyone who is interested in the subject, and who wishes to learn how more effectively to work to get others interested.

Two paragraphs from the book will give the author's attitude and aim. "The church's problem of missionary education is the development of the missionary life and spirit in every Christian at home and abroad. It means the recognition of the essential oneness of "Christian" and "missionary." Missionary education must see to it that being a Christian is identical with having Christ's breadth of sympathy, intellectual outlook, and social values." This is the last paragraph in the volume.

The author's method is indicated in another paragraph from the first chapter on "The Aims of Missionary Education." "Missionary education will, therefore, seek to reach the springs of action, the native social impulses and feelings, and to strengthen and direct them through use. It will endeavor to inculcate high and adequate missionary ideals as the goals of Christian living, and will train a growing generation to be loyal to a world-wide brotherhood. It will relate individuals and groups of the needs of the world in service, and will endeavor to produce a generation intelligently in touch with the principles, history, and present status of the kingdom of God and to enlist every Christian as an active agent tirelessly working for the establishment of that kingdom."

As indicated by the title of the volume the chief sphere in which this missionary education is to be carried forward is the home and the school, and by the school is here meant the Sunday School. It is by training the children and youth of the Church in missionary knowledge and in missionary activities that the whole Church is to be leavened with the missionary spirit.

The discussion is in two parts. In the first part are ten chapters covering about 250 pages. The general subject is "Principles," and the chapter headings are such as "The Significance and Cultivation of Friendliness," "The Awakening and Extension of Sympathy," "The Development of Helpfulness," "Learning How to Co-operate," "Stewardship and Generosity," etc. The second part comprises seven chapters and deals with "Special Method." The separate chapters discuss methods of work with different classes, as "Children under nine years of age," girls and boys from nine to twelve, from thirteen to sixteen, young people from fifteen to eighteen, and young men and young women from eighteen to twenty-four years of age. In each case many helpful suggestions are given, and also a list of books that will be especially illuminating.

We heartily recommend this book to all pastors, and to Sunday School superintendents and teachers, and especially to the leaders of mission classes whether in or outside of the Sunday School.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

The Other Side of the Hill and Home Again. By F. W. Boreham. 12mo. Pp. 274. Cloth. Price \$1.25 net. This volume takes its title from one of twenty-eight

delightful essays which make up its contents. It is typical also of the general spirit of the entire volume. Each essay is in some sense an attempt to see "The Other Side of the Hill," that is to get a new outlook from which to see and to judge human life and experience. The result is very interesting and suggestive. The most commonplace people and experiences, and even things, are made to take on new aspects and to reveal new meanings, which the ordinary, conventional, looker-on would never have suspected.

The style is simple, informal, conversational. The author seems to take the reader by the hand, and to ramble on with him, apparently without any definite goal, wandering into the most unsuspected by-ways and turning up in the most unexpected places. It seems like a constant series of surprises to both the author and his reader. Yet, somehow, when the ramble is finished, the reader always comes to feel that his guide has had a very positive purpose in view from the very first step. That purpose was to reach and explore "The Other Side of the Hill"; to reveal some unsuspected phase of the question under discussion, and to teach some new lesson that the ordinary observer would likely have missed.

From the title-page we learn that Mr. Boreham, who by the way is evidently a pastor—Methodist, we suspect—in Melbourne, Australia, has previously published several other volumes of a similar character. At least this would seem to be indicated by the titles given: "Faces in the Fire," "Mushrooms on the Moor," "The Golden Milestone," "Mountains in the Mist," "The Luggage of Life," etc. We are sure that every one who reads one of these books will want to read more. Dr. Kelley, the gifted editor of *The Methodist Review*, says this of Boreham, all of which we have found eminently true: "A most suggestible person is this Tasmanian essayist. To him every event and object is suggestive; wherever his glance strikes it ricochets to something else. An expert driver of ideas by things is Boreham. An unspeakable treasure and joy is such a mind."

Just to give a taste of what is in store for those who buy and read this volume, we quote a short paragraph or two from the essay which gives title to it. "It is a fine thing to know what is on the other side of the hill. Who can read the fiery theological controversies of days gone by without wishing that each of the angry disputants had been able to peep over the brow of the ridge? Think of the language with which Luther and Calvin assailed each

other! Think even of the correspondence of Wesley and Toplady. Wesley, the greatest evangelical force that England has ever known, wrote of the author of "Rock of Ages," "Mr. Augustus Toplady I know very well; but I do not fight with chimney-sweeps. He is too dirty a writer for me to meddle with; I should only foul my fingers." Toplady was quite capable of repaying the founder of Methodism in his own coin. Wesley, he declared, was a hatcher of blasphemies; his forehead was impervious to a blush; he had perpetrated upon the public a known, a wilful, and a palpable lie! But it is too bad of me to drag these amenities of eighteenth-century controversy from the dust that has so long covered them. Let me bury them again at once; and let us remember Wesley only as the greatest spiritual force in the making of modern England, and let us remember Toplady only as the author of our favorite hymn.

"For after all, what do these angry sentences prove? They prove that, for a little season, neither Wesley nor Toplady was able to see what was on the other side of the hill. I never read a newspaper controversy, or listen to a heated debate, without feeling that. It is so obvious that each of the disputants is standing on his own side of the hill, shouting at his opponent over the ridge that separates them."

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

With the Children; in Lewis Carroll's Company. By William Valentine Kelley. 12mo. (5 x 7½ inches). Pages 139. Cloth binding. Price 75 cents net.

This book is evidently written by one whom little children love, as well as by one who loves little children. Whoever takes it up and begins to read will not want to lay it down until it has been finished. Then there will come the quick desire to go back and read it all over again, and to recommend it to every friend. At least this has been the experience of one reader. It is like a string of pearls, or a garden of roses, or a meadow of wild flowers, a constant succession of bright and beautiful facts and fancies, expressed in a style that is as pleasing and as attractive as the thoughts that it conveys. Reading it is like strolling with a delightful friend through a charming country-side where every rise and fall of the ground, and every turn of the road, opens up new vistas of beauty and delight which constantly lure to further advance.

It is easy to believe the author when he says that his

book "just wrote itself." Such a book could not have been written in any other way. It is as spontaneous as a fountain, and like the waters of a fountain it is ever fresh and sweet, and gives you the feeling that it is inexhaustible and that you want it to go on and on without stopping.

One is often disappointed in a book after reading the advertisement, because the fulfillment falls so far below the promise. It is not so with this book, and we can heartily endorse every word of the announcement by the publishers when they say that "in this little book will be found the wit, the wisdom, and the religion of childhood set forth in wise and winning fashion. Following in the company of Lewis Carroll, the author unfolds for all who have eyes to see, and ears to hear, and hearts to feel the surpassing beauty and worth of childhood years. It is a wonderfully luminous showing forth of the opportunities the child offers to the Home, the Church, and the World."

Lewis Carroll was the pen-name of Charles L. Dodgson, an English clergyman of the last century. As Charles L. Dodgson he was an Oxford "don," devoted to higher Mathematics and the author of many learned books on that subject. As Lewis Carroll he was the friend of little children, and the author of a series of popular books for children, "Alice's Adventures in Wonderland," "Through the Looking Glass," "Hunting the Shark," etc. which have given endless pleasure not only to children but to multitudes of grown-ups as well. It is easy to see therefore, why Dr. Kelley chose Lewis Carroll for his and our companion on this delightful stroll "With the Children." Dr. Kelley has also lived "a double life." To the world of scholarship he is known as a distinguished Methodist Doctor of Divinity, and for many years the learned editor of the *Methodist Review*, one of our most ponderous theological quarterlies. But to his intimate friends he is better known as a lover of children, greatly gifted with an understanding and sympathetic insight into the very innermost sanctuary of their childish thought and life. Through the medium of this booklet many others will come to know and enjoy this side of his life.

Opposite the title page is a very fine photograph presentation of the features of the author which will add much to the value of the little volume for the multitude of children and others who have known, and loved, and admired him.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

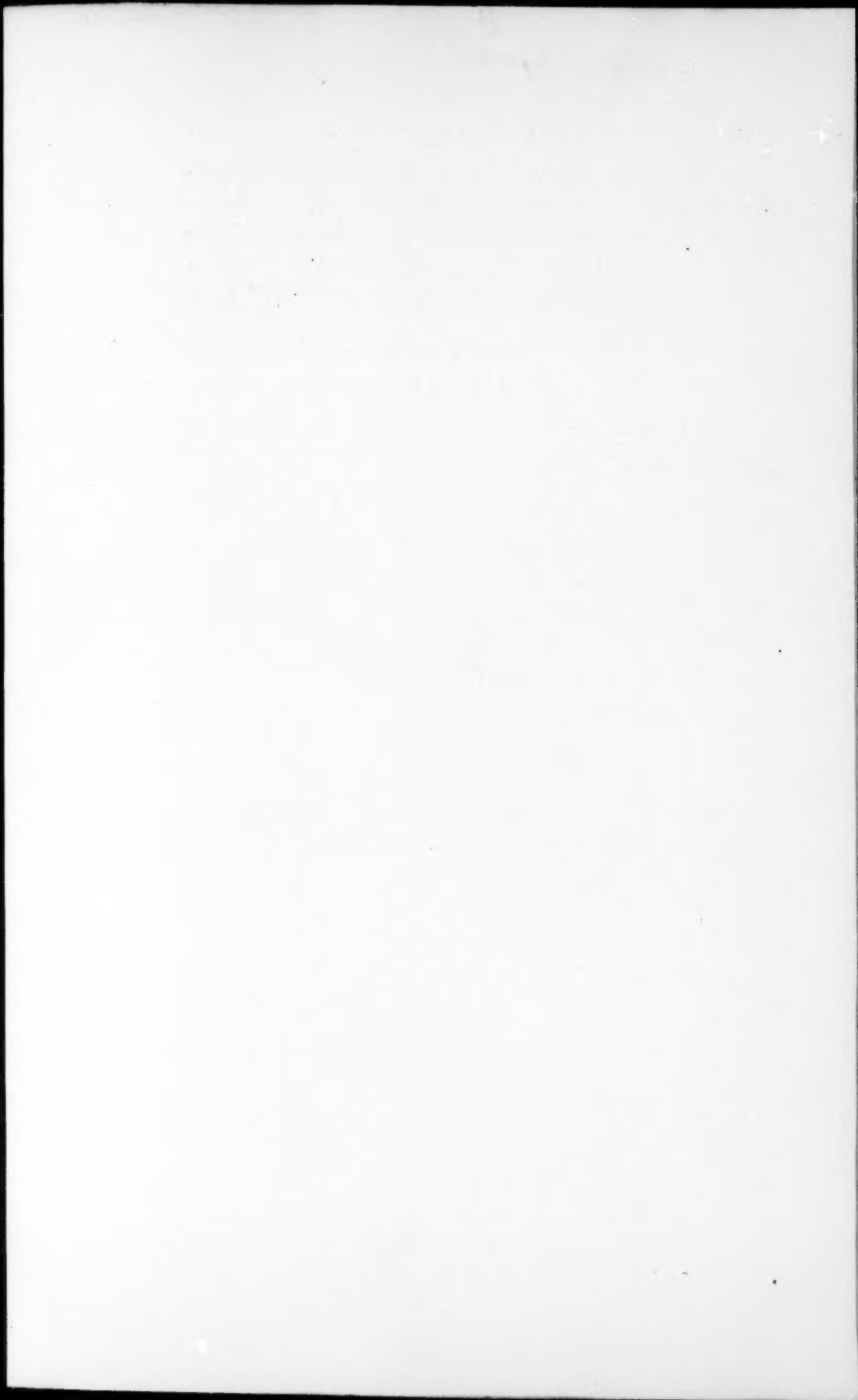
Scotty Kid; the Life Story of "Brother Tommy." Told by "Li-ke-ke." Godfathered by Father Endeavor Clark. 12mo. (5 x 7½ inches). Pages 212. Price \$1.00 net.

If this story were not vouched for by so well-known and so reliable a "god-father" as Dr. Clark, the founder of the Christian Endeavor Society, it would be hard to accept it as a true story. It reminds us of Harold Begbie's "Twice-born Men." It is in many ways quite as remarkable a tale as any of those which Mr. Begbie has given in his book, and it quite as strikingly illustrates the power of Jesus Christ to save, "even unto the uttermost" of human guilt and degradation.

The real name of the hero of the story is Thomas F. Anderson. For years he followed the life of a gambler, a tramp, a thief, a dope fiend, a trickster, and a convict. It was while leading this life of dissipation and crime that he was known as "Scotty Kid." Finally he was converted in a rescue mission in Los Angeles. He was literally made a "new creature, born from above." As the author says: "Scotty was a dope fiend, drunkard, thief, trickster, and lazy past telling. Tommy *was born* with diametrically opposite traits. He did not develop them, in the important sense, though they have grown with the using."

The new convert immediately went to work to save others, and in this capacity, as a rescue worker, he soon came to be known as "Brother Tommy." From a mission worker he became a traveling evangelist. Later he drifted to Hawaii where he is engaged in successful mission work among the Spanish, Porto Ricans, and Filipinos who work on the plantations. Such a story is a good bracer to one's faith if it ever is inclined to waver as to whether the gospel of Jesus Christ is still, "the power of God unto salvation."

JACOB A. CLUTZ.



THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY

CONDUCTED BY

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JACOB A. CLUTZ, D. D.

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